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MEMOIRS

FOR THE

HISTORY

OF

Madame de MAINTENON

AND OF THE

LAST AGE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH,

By the AUTHOR of

THE FEMALE QUIXOTE.

VOL. III.

Bonam facile crederes, magnam libenter.

TAC.

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MEMOIRS
FOR THE
HISTORY
OF
Madam de *Maintenon*,
And of the
LAST AGE.

CHAPTER I.

The state of France.

1695.] THE king took towns, gained battles, supported singly the the united efforts of all Europe against him, and wished only for peace. He no longer hoped to re-establish king James upon the throne of England. The battle of the Boyne secured the crown to William. France, drained of men and money, was perishing with hunger in the midst of bonfires and re-

peated *Te Deums*. Recruits were raiſed with great difficulty; the ſupplies of money were uncertain, and obtained by ſhameful expedients; the manufactures were ruined, paper-money ſubſtituted in the room of ſpecie; the debts of the ſtate increaſed by the extreme difficulty of raiſing loans; the ſcarcity of corn almoſt univerſal. The people curſed thoſe victories, which always foretold a new tax. The Jew Sacerdoti * and Huguetan the bookſeller, had long ſupported the court and the army of France; but the former was now detained in priſon at Genoa for debt, and the latter had quitted the kingdom with ſeveral millions in his poſſeſſion †.

Madame

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* The king, to ſecure him for the future from thoſe inſults, gave him a brevet, by which he acknowledged him every where for his ambaſſador; and by that means he enjoyed the right of nations in all its extent.

† Huguetan was born in the province of Lyons; he took refuge in Holland on account of his religion, and acquired a great fortune there, by ſelling Breviaries and Maſs-Books. Lewis the Fourteenth truſted and employed him, notwithſtanding his being a Calviniſt. Monſieur de Pontchartrain having forced him to ſign letters of exchange for ſeveral millions of money; Huguetan, by the ſame courier, revoked the orders which had been extorted from him, and retired to the Hague, where he married the natural daughter of a prince of Naſſau, and obtained the government of Viane, the ſacred aſylum of bankrupts. The king gave captain Gautier a commiſſion to bring him off by force. Huguetan was betrayed into the power of this officer, by his valet de chambre, and conducted to the laſt town in Holland, croſs canals, with which this country is full. The laſt barrier was opened, when a ſoldier, who had perceived a ſilk gown, at the moment when Gautier came out of the coach to give ſome neceſſary orders, advanced, and opened the coach-door,

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Madame de Maintenon, who trembled at the remembrance of the dangerous illneſs with which Lewis was ſeized at Queſnoi, always dreaded thoſe campaigns and

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door, that he might ſee the fair lady, whom the travellers concealed ſo carefully; but, inſtead of a woman, he ſaw a man with a night-cap on his head, a gag in his mouth, and irons on his hands. The barrier was inſtantly ſhut; Gautier and his ſerjeants were ſeized and beheaded. Huguetan offered his ſervice to England; but was rejected: and afterwards to the court of Vienna, who created him a baron. He wandered through ſeveral kingdoms, always purſued by his fears, and by the comptroller-general; and at length ſettled in Hambourg, where he introduced a ſyſtem of trade, which greatly impoveriſhed that city. The magiſtrates having intreated him to depart, he carried his wealth and his ſchemes to Denmark, where he gave a proof of what one man is capable of doing. He poliſhed that barbarous country: he eſtabliſhed maritime companies of ſilk and linen manufactures, and a bank, a little more ſolid than that of Law. He was conſulted in all affairs, although employed in none; he brought the wiſe principles of the adminiſtration of the finances and trade, into ſuch eſteem, that the moſt jealous republicks confided in the probity of this government, although purely deſpotick. Frederick IV. erected the lands of Guldeſteen into an earldom for him and his deſcendants, and Huguetan took the title of it. He obtained the poſt of chamberlain, and was afterwards honoured with the white ribbon of the order of Danebrog. He lived with great magnificence, increaſed his riches like a merchant, and ſpent them like a nobleman. Having quarrelled with a miniſter of Chriſtian VI. he retired to his eſtate in Holſtein, and made ſo great a vacuity at Copenhagen, that he was honourably recalled. I ſaw him when he was an hundred and three years old; but he was then thought the moſt amiable man of his time in converſation; in council, the wiſeſt; in commerce the moſt active and

and ſieges, where the moſt valuable life was equally expoſed with the meaneſt. She knew that he looked upon William as an enemy worthy of him; and that he thought there was nothing wanting to compleat his glory, but to vanquiſh him in a pitched battle. She was continually adviſing him to conclude a peace, which alone could free her from her apprehenſions of his ſafety, ſecure the publick happineſs, and relieve the great numbers of unfortunate perſons, with whom ſhe was ſurrounded. She ſold her jewels and her houſes, probably, as much to ſhew the king the extreme poverty of the people, as to ſuccour thoſe who applied to her.

The miniſters came over to her opinion, but eſpecially the duke de Beauvillieres, the moſt virtuous man in the court: Pontchartrain deſired peace, becauſe he was weary of ſeeking money in a country where trade was ruined: Barbezieux, becauſe buſineſs intruded upon pleaſures, which he loved to exceſs; even king James, who ſhewed more impatience to have ſome Engliſh horſes, than to reaſcend his throne, joined with the miniſters in declaring for peace.

The king, by whom it was no leſs ardently deſired, employed Harlay, Creci, and Callieres *, in a ſecret negoti-

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prudent; and remarkably compaſſionate to the poor. Although he laid the foundation of his fortune by ſelling books; yet he had read no author but Rabelais; although perſecuted by the court of France in every country where he took refuge; yet it was France only that he loved. His only daughter was carried off by the marquis de Monteleon, the Spaniſh ambaſſador. He refuſed to give one of his grandaughters in marriage to a prince of the royal blood of Denmark. His death, which happened in 1750, was occaſioned by grief, for not obtaining the blue ribbon of the order of the Elephant.

* Of the French academy, and plenipotentiary at the congreſs of Ryſwick. He wrote a treatiſe upon the art of negotiation, which proves, that he neither knew how to negotiate, nor to write.

negotiation for that purpoſe. He levied exceſſive impoſts; but he gave very conſiderable penſions, and greatly retrenched the expences of his houſhold. He laboured inceſſantly with his miniſters, and ſpent very little; his application to buſineſs reanimated his generals, and his frugality conſoled his people. He could not reſolve to puniſh deſerters with death, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations that were made to him by his officers, in ſupport of this ſalutary ſeverity. The marquis de Nangis, being reprimanded by the king for not having his regiment complete, ſaid, 'Sire, 'it never will be ſo, till deſerters are puniſhed with 'death.' 'Ah! Nangis,' replied the king, 'thoſe 'deſerters are men.' To the intendant of Flanders he ſaid, 'The news you ſent me laſt year was very me-'lancholy, and many ſevere things were done: con-'tinue, I entreat you, to give me information of all 'that paſſes; I would know the truth, however pain-'ful that truth may be to me.'

Both artifice and force were employed in making new levies. The ſoldiers quartered in Paris, carried off men who were fit to bear arms, ſhut them up in certain houſes, and ſold them to the officers. Theſe houſes were called ovens, and they had thirty of them in the capital. The king, being informed of this violation of publick liberty, which the magiſtrate had not dared to repreſs, for fear of diſpleaſing him, cauſed the ſoldiers, who had thus forcibly enliſted men, to be ſeized, commanded that they ſhould be tried with all the rigour of the laws; gave liberty to all thoſe who had loſt it by violence or fraud, and declared, that he would be ſerved by ſoldiers, and not ſlaves.

How eaſy is it for a king to be adored by his people! in France eſpecially. Theſe acts of juſtice or of goodneſs, filled the city of Paris with ſuch affection for its ſovereign, that the poll-tax, which was then conſidered as the laſt reſource of the ſtate, was now the only hope of the farmers of the revenue. New impoſts are never collected well the firſt year. Between the ſuſpicious collector, and the artful proprietor, there is a kind of oppoſition formed, which regu-

lates the payment, in a manner very diſadvantageous to the former. The ſubjects were now ſo fully perſuaded that this impoſt would end with the war, that they ſhewed an extreme eagerneſs to pay it. The Swiſs, who had ſettled in the kingdom, ſent a deputation to the king, to intreat, that they might be comprehended in the poll-tax, they being no leſs faithfully devoted to the ſtate, than the French themſelves. The footmen ran in crouds to the town-houſe with the ſame requeſt: certainly, if it is incumbent upon a prince to repay the fidelity of his ſubjects with affection; an impoſt eſtabliſhed in ſuch circumſtances, for a certain time only, and paid with ſuch emulative chearfulneſs, ought not to be eternal; and will not be ſo, if we are ever ſo happy, as to have a ſuperintendant of the finances, who knows that it is oppreſſive.

The allies had ſtill all their forces entire, and had loſt nothing but a few towns. They had taken Pondicherry; they were ſettled in Flanders; in Germany they were acting with renewed vigour; Dauphiné was laid waſte; and we were threatened on all ſides. The new-invented infernal machine, only terrified with its noiſe, but Dieppe was reduced to aſhes. The duke of Savoy had taken Cazal; and William had made himſelf maſter of Namur: Villeroi and the duke of Maine loſt a fine opportunity of vanquiſhing the prince of Vaudemont, and of gaining laſting glory; marſhal Noailles took all the cities in Catalonia which he attacked; but this ſucceſs had no conſequences; in a word, both parties ſeemed to be weary of fighting, and made war as if they were ſoon to make peace.

CHAPTER II.

The dutcheſs of Burgundy.

1696.] CAtinat, equally great in politicks as in war, treated with the duke of Savoy while he beat him. That prince, whoſe reſolutions were always directed by his prevailing intereſt, accepted the neutrality which was offered him; and betrayed his allies,

at

at firſt with the ſame artifice, and afterwards with the ſame inſolence, that he had betrayed France. Pignerol, and all that had been taken from him, were to be reſtored. His eldeſt daughter was demanded in marriage for the duke of Burgundy; all the honours due to crowned heads were granted to him, as if the king of France had the right, ſo long conteſted with the pope and the emperor *, of raiſing the dignity of ſovereigns.

This treaty was kept ſecret till the duke of Savoy was in a condition to declare the alliance with advantage to himſelf. He had only promiſed his good offices, towards haſtening the peace; and he now gave his army; he beſieged Valence with Catinat, and ſigned the contract for the marriage of his daughter.

The princeſs of Savoy † at length arrived at Montargis, where the court was waiting for her. The king, taking her in his arms, carried her into a church, and made an offering of her to God, who alone could guard her againſt the corruption of the court. He was ſo pleaſed with her at this firſt interview, that he wrote that very evening to madame de Maintenon, who had ſtaid at Fontainebleau, and expreſſed himſelf in terms very favourable to the young princeſs. The court returned to Fontainebleau the next day; the princeſs of Savoy did not forget the inſtructions of her mother, who had earneſtly recommended it to her, to ſhew great reſpect to madame de Maintenon, to be obedient to her inſtructions, and to endeavour to acquire her friendſhip. The little princeſs was laviſh of her careſſes to her; and from the *Nov.* 4.

* Four years afterwards, at the marriage of Leopold duke of Lorrain, with mademoiſelle de Chartres, he would not acknowledge the title of royal highneſs, which this prince aſſumed, upon a patent from the emperor, who gave it him, in conſideration of his being the ſon of an archdutcheſs, who was queen of Poland.

† Maria Adelaida of Savoy, born December 6, 1685.

firſt moment, gained her tendereſt affection. The princeſs of Savoy was formed to pleaſe: ſhe had all the luſtre of the moſt finiſhed beauty, though her features were not abſolutely regular; her forehead and mouth were too large; her face was too ſmall for her features, but age gave proportion and grace to all; ſhe had large eyes full of fire; their glances were ſometimes fierce and haughty, but ſhe had great ſenſibility in her countenance, a beautiful complexion, a ſhape perfectly fine, that air of majeſty, which at the firſt ſight, commands reſpect; thoſe graces which always charm, and that artleſs wit, which is always the beſt judge of what is good and fine.

Such was, or ſuch became the princeſs, who was deſtined for a wife to the duke of Burgundy. My foreign readers will ſcarce pardon me this picture, nor what follows; it belongs only to the French, to be ſenſible of the pleaſure of praiſing the mother of their king.

Lewis knew too well the talents madame de Maintenon poſſeſſed for the education of children, not to wiſh that ſhe would charge herſelf with that of the princeſs Adelaida. He made her ſenſible, that it was his deſire, ſhe would undertake this taſk, but he did not inſiſt upon it: he might have commanded, he only intreated. An employment, which, to any other lady in the kingdom, would have been the higheſt honour, and the moſt valued recompence; it was thought a favour for madame de Maintenon to accept, which ſufficiently proves, that her rank was incompatible with any employment about a princeſs.

The princeſs of Savoy ſeemed to underſtand that rank perfectly well; ſhe did not think it was too great a hazard, to give her the tender name of aunt, at firſt in imitation of mademoiſelle d'Aubigné, afterwards, through affection and reſpect, with which the king was the firſt to inſpire her. She happened one day to ſeat herſelf in the corner of the room where madame de Maintenon uſually ſat, 'Riſe,' ſaid the king to her, 'don't you know you are in Madame's place?'

The

The more valuable the truſt, the greater perplexity it gave madame de Maintenon; ſhe heſitated between her inclination and her fears. When ſhe looked upon the young princeſs, whom ſhe regarded as the angel of peace, ſhe was tempted to accept of it; when ſhe conſidered, that if ſhe undertook her education, ſhe would be obliged to aſſociate with the world, which ſhe had quitted, ſhe was upon the point of refuſing it. The biſhop of Chartres, whom ſhe conſulted upon this occaſion, was ſenſible of the ill conſequences of her refuſal; and ordered her, with all the authority his function gave him a right to exert, to take the young princeſs under her care, fully convinced, that no perſon was ſo proper to form a queen, as a woman who had raiſed herſelf to that rank. The dutcheſs of Savoy joined her intreaties to the king's, and madame de Maintenon at length conſented.

The tender age of the princeſs confided to her care, gave her hopes, which a more advanced one did not deceive. She made it a duty to cultivate ſo many growing virtues; but inclination ſoon added a ſweeter force; ſhe loved the princeſs, and was tenderly beloved by her.

She thought a publick education would be advantageous to the princeſs of Savoy; it having been always her opinion, that the faults of princeſſes were generally owing to their being brought up in private ſtate, where they ſaw only flatterers in their teachers, and ſlaves in their attendants. At Saint-Cyr, ſhe thought the princeſs would acquire the manners of the French; that a numerous ſociety would give her a taſte for ſocial virtues; that ſhe would be induced to love piety, by ſeeing it there full of ſimplicity, candour, and peace; that ſhe would improve by exerciſes, in which her rank or inclination might be equally ſtudied; and that ſhe would there learn, at leaſt, to know her equals, to pleaſe them, to reprove them, to defend and reward them; and a thouſand things, which are not to be learned at court.

To effect this, it was neceſſary that the young princeſs ſhould be made to love Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon prepared her an agreeable entry. The community in long robes received her in ceremony; the ſuperiour made her an elegant compliment; the young ladies, ranged on each ſide, made a lane for her till ſhe came to the church, whither ſhe was firſt conducted. After *Te Deum* was ſung, ſhe went up to the claſſes: ſome young ladies of her own age, repeated a converſation before her, ingenious enough to amuſe her, and in which ſhe was praiſed without adulation. The princeſs was ſo charmed with her reception at Saint-Cyr, and with every thing ſhe heard and ſaw there, that ſhe would never afterwards ſuffer madame de Maintenon to go without her.

She went to Saint-Cyr conſtantly three times a week, and ſtaid there from nine o'clock in the morning till night. She ſoon had favourites among the young ladies. Mademoiſelle d'Oſmond held one of the firſt places in her heart: it was not poſſible to make a better choice; to love mademoiſelle d'Oſmond was to love beauty, the graces, gentleneſs, and truth: but mademoiſelle d'Aubigné, being the niece of madame de Maintenon, effaced all the others. Their ſtudies, their ſports, their exerciſes, their dreſs, their inclinations, were the ſame; and their familiarity went ſo far, as to make them quarrel, and even to fight.

The ſplendour, the honours, the pleaſures of the court, all diſguſted the princeſs of Savoy, and Saint-Cyr only could pleaſe her. Sometimes ſhe would appear in the dreſs of a lady of Saint-Lewis; but generally in that of a young lady. In this diſguiſe, ſhe was always called mademoiſelle de Laſtic, the name of an illuſtrious family, which ſhe choſe herſelf.

In this habit, ſhe would go to the houſe-keeper's apartment, where ſhe was initiated into the arts of œconomy; to the ſteward's office, where ſhe learned to underſtand buſineſs; to the noviciate, where ſhe heard an exhortation; to the claſſes, where, by obeying, ſhe learned how to command; charmed when they feigned not to conſider her rank, ſhe would perform

form all the offices, be extremely buſy, ſuppoſe herſelf neceſſary, deſpiſe the luxury and idleneſs of Verſailles, and became that Antiope which Minerva forms for Telemachus. Sometimes ſhe would raiſe herſelf to be miſtreſs of the claſſes; and in this character, ſhe would hear them repeat the catechiſm, and conſequently learned it herſelf: ſhe enlivened their ſtudies, ſhe varied their amuſements, ſhe acquired an extreme facility in ſpeaking, ſhe permitted queſtions to be propoſed, and even to herſelf, which ſhe always anſwered with great juſtneſs.

One of the young ladies having aſked her, whether the dead ſhould at the laſt day riſe with the bodies they had on earth? The princeſs was a little embarraſſed, but recollecting herſelf, 'Theſe ſorts of queſtions,' ſaid ſhe, 'ought never to be propoſed; our buſineſs is to 'get to heaven; we are not to trouble ourſelves about 'what they do there.' Another of the young ladies having thrown a bird while alive into the fire, ſhe ſhewed, by a ſevere reprimand, how greatly ſhe deteſted ſuch cruelty.

To theſe ſentiments of tenderneſs and humanity, madame de Maintenon was deſirous of adding the inclination and the talent of conferring benefits agreeably. She often repreſented to her, that liberality was a virtue, which belonged, in a peculiar manner, to princes; and to accuſtom her to it, ſhe made her diſtribute little preſents among the young ladies. The great ſeldom think of beſtowing favours; they always wait for ſolicitations; and often bold and inſolent vice ſeizes thoſe rewards, which are due to modeſt and doubting virtue. Princes ſeldom conſider what will be acceptable to their favourites; they muſt be informed in a petition, or by word dexterouſly introduced; they are mere poppets, danced by other hands, and ſubjected to foreign movements.

Madame de Maintenon taught the princeſs to obſerve every thing with attention, to treaſure up hints in her memory, to be beforehand with requeſts, to ſoften refuſals, to beſtow praiſe ſeaſonably, to penetrate into the deſigns or inclination of all about her; to confer

favour

favours in that graceful manner which enhances their value, to ſhed her benefactions on perſons aſtoniſhed that their neceſſities or deſires were known, to reward her domeſticks for an act of duty, or an expreſſion of affection, which they did not believe had been obſerved; in a word, all thoſe little attentions, thoſe graceful trifles, without which, princes can never deſerve to have friends.

Mean while the day fixed for the celebration of her marriage drew near; and the candidates for the principal employments in her houſhold, divided the intereſt of the court. The dutcheſſes de Beauvillieres, de Crequi, de Ventadour, and du Lude, claimed the firſt place about the princeſs; madame de Beauvillieres was rejected, under pretence of her ill ſtate of health, but in reality, on account of her being a Quietiſt; madame de Crequi was thought too old; madame de Ventadour was excluded, on account of the bad conduct of her ſiſters; madame du Lude, a woman who was rather free from vices than eminent for virtue, was appointed lady of honour; madame de Caylus ſollicited for the poſt of *dame d'autour*; but ſhe was a Janſeniſt, and the counteſs de Mailly was preferred to her. The count de Teſſé, remarkable for the eaſy politeneſs of his manners, was made firſt equerry; the marquis de Dangeau, knight of honour; the marquis de Villacerf, firſt maſter of the houſhold; Vieuville, ſecretary; Bourdelot, firſt phyſician; and the biſhop of Meaux firſt almoner. When this prelate kneeled to the princeſs to take the uſual oath, 'I am 'aſhamed,' ſaid ſhe to him, 'to ſee ſo wiſe a man at 'my feet.'

The choice of a confeſſor for the princeſs took up the king's whole attention. The confeſſor is the only perſon at court, who can claim a right to be ſincere; and it was no eaſy matter, to find a man who had reſolution enough to make uſe of this right, or candour enough not to abuſe it.

Father de la Chaiſe preſented a liſt of ſeveral Jeſuits to the king, all of them men of great learning, and acknowledged virtue. Father Emerick was among them:

them: madame de Maintenon and cardinal de Noailles openly recommended him; and the king was inclined to appoint him. Father de la Chaiſe, either becauſe he thought that an auſtere man would not be agreeable to a young princeſs; or becauſe he was jealous of the reputation ſuch a man would acquire in a devout court, endeavoured to exclude him, by telling the king, that he was too ſcrupulous. Madame de Maintenon was enraged at theſe words. When the confeſſor retired, ſhe obſerved to the king, that the reaſon he gave for excluding father Emerick, was highly indecent, treacherous, and malicious. Father de la Chaiſe returned a few hours afterwards, and, with a look of eagerneſs and anxiety, told the king, that he had juſt diſcovered father Emerick to be a Janſeniſt. Madame de Maintenon groaned, and was ſilent: ſhe might have ſaid many ſevere things; but this phantom of Janſeniſm was ſo terrible to the king, that ſhe durſt not venture to remove his ſuſpicion, leſt ſhe ſhould be treated like a Janſeniſt herſelf.

When ſhe reflected upon the great number of perſons, whom the bare ſuſpicion of Janſeniſm, and that often very unjuſt, had ruined; upon the prejudice father de la Chaiſe entertained againſt all who were remarkably devout, ſuppoſing them hereticks; upon the miſunderſtanding there was between herſelf and him; upon the hatred and diſtruſt of the ſociety which ſhe had incurred, and was ſufficiently proved by their deputing the fathers Bourdaloue and de la Rue to her, with a formal petition, that ſhe would be pleaſed to take them into favour; ſhe thought herſelf happy that the formulary was not preſented to her to ſign. Father la Comte was appointed confeſſor to the princeſs; but ſhe conceived ſo great a diſlike to him, that the king permitted her to chuſe any confeſſor ſhe pleaſed, provided he was of the order of the jeſuiſts.

It was debated, whether maids of honour ſhould be again eſtabliſhed. The king was very deſirous they ſhould, under pretence, that young ladies would enliven the court, but in reality, becauſe that at an age when we are no longer capable of enjoying the plea-

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ſures of youth, the preſence of young perſons is neceſſary, to recal the remembrance of them.

Madame de Maintenon, who had not forgot the frailty of the maids of honour, in the courts of the queen and the dutcheſs of Orleans, gave her vote for ladies of the palace; and the king, either in complaiſance to her, or through reflexion on the paſt, ſoon became of her opinion.

Saint-Cyr afforded young ladies enough to amuſe the princeſs; Madame de Maintenon had always ſome of the genteeleſt and moſt ſenſible with her; ſhe had ſucceſſively mademoiſelle de Caſtéja, afterwards madame de la Lande, ſub-governeſs to the children of France, and worthy of ſo important an employment; mademoiſelle de Tonnancourt, who was ſent away, becauſe ſhe had ſome little deſigns upon the king, which ſhe had ſuffered to be perceived, by ſliding her ring into one of his ſleeves; mademoiſelle de Bouju, who had a greater taſte for the convent than the court; mademoiſelle de Normanville, who married the preſident Brunet; mademoiſelle d'Oſmond, gay, lovely, witty, afterwards married to the marquis d'Havrincourt, to whom ſhe brought a portion of a hundred thouſand franks, the government of Heſden, a happy fertility, and the hope that his ſervices would not go unrewarded; and laſtly, mademoiſelle d'Aumale, adorned with every perfection, except beauty, which ſhe would have deſpiſed if ſhe had poſſeſſed it; ſo attached to madame de Maintenon, that ſhe refuſed a brave general officer, who, upon her account, had been raiſed to the firſt honours in the kingdom. 'You are young,' ſaid the king to her, 'and you refuſe a marſhal of 'France; but when you are old, you will be glad 'to marry a mouſquetaire.' So eſteemed by the monarch, that the ladies de Caylus and Dangeau uſed to ſay, 'Let us make our court to mademoiſelle d'Au-'male; if madame de Maintenon ſhould die, we will 'be glad we have done it.'

Dec. 7, 1697.] The nuptials of the duke of Burgundy and the princeſs of Savoy, were celebrated with great

great magnificence; and the ſhews and entertainments that were made on this occaſion, were the laſt which raiſed and ſatisfied the curioſity of foreigners. The dutcheſs of Burgundy, fatigued with compliments upon her marriage, replied to a courtier, 'What you 'have ſaid to me is wonderful fine, but thank heaven 'one does not marry every day.

She had the art of painting in a ſingle word. Of the duke and dutcheſs of Harcourt, ſhe ſaid; 'Whenever I ſee them, I think I ſee courage married to 'virtue.' 'Madame de Monteſpan,' ſaid ſhe, 'has 'the tongue of a ſerpent, in the head of a dove.'

Madame de Maintenon was afraid of her abuſing this dangerous talent; and that by being ſincere, ſhe would appear ſatirical: ſhe was alſo apprehenſive of the taſte ſhe diſcovered for wit, ſo hated by the king, and ſo ſeldom joined with a ſolid underſtanding. To guard her againſt theſe defects, ſhe removed from her the trifling youth of the court, and engaged her often in her own apartments. There was play there every evening; the princeſs of Harcourt, the dutcheſs de Guiche, the marchioneſs de Dangeau, the counteſs de Grammont, conſtantly attended theſe aſſemblies, where the king's preſence conſtrained no one but the dauphin.

Although this regulation ſubjected madame de Maintenon to great expences, yet ſhe never deſired to be indemnified by the king; and what was ſtill more honourable for her, he never offered it. However, ſhe ſuffered ſome uneaſineſs, at being obliged to give to the pleaſures of the court, thoſe ſums which her charity had deſtined to the relief of the poor; and to conſole herſelf, it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould ſuppoſe that, by falling into the hands of the courtiers, they became a kind of alms.

Madame du Lude ſcarce quitted the dutcheſs of Burgundy a moment; every night one of her ſpies gave madame de Maintenon an account of the tranſactions of the day. All who approached the princeſs, concurred in their endeavours to make her an accompliſhed woman. If ſhe failed in the performance of any duty, ſhe was inſtantly informed of it,

by

by the uneaſineſs that was ſpread on every face; the joy of her attendants ſhewed her when ſhe had fulfilled them, and excited her to perſeverance: abſent or preſent, madame de Maintenon was always found between her, and the dangerous ſnares of a court.

She improved her underſtanding, by leſſons that ſeemed dictated by wiſdom herſelf. She taught her to know the human heart, by making obſervations on the different characters of the courtiers, or on the various incidents of the day. She gave her in writing, the moſt judicious rules for forming her conduct; ſhe involved truth in ingenious fictions; and in the mouth of a chriſtian philoſopher, ſhe put the juſteſt maxims of true happineſs; ſhe ſought to communicate all her own experience to her beloved pupil: the underſtanding of princes is a plant which cannot be too carefully nouriſhed.

The dutcheſs of Burgundy now viſited Saint-Cyr more ſeldom, but ſhe always retained her fondneſs for it; and ſhe has been ſeen to weep at Fontainebleau, becauſe ſhe was not at liberty to amuſe herſelf in a place where ſhe found every pleaſure, by ceaſing to be a princeſs. She one day did the honours of Saint-Cyr, when the king viſited that community, and received the king and queen of England there, in the habit of a lady of ſaint Lewis; and ſhe is in this habit, in the beſt picture we have of her.

Madame de Maintenon uſed her utmoſt endeavours to confirm the princeſs in her taſte for Saint-Cyr, as well to guard her againſt errors, by the remembrance of the virtues ſhe acquired there, as to ſecure to this community a protectreſs who well knew its uſefulneſs to the ſtate, and might extend its ability to do good.

The dutcheſs of Burgundy being diſguſted with her confeſſor, reſolved, either through curioſity or inclination, to try a confeſſor of Saint-Cyr; and conſcious that at the tribunal of penitence, ſhe was ſtill too much a princeſs, ſhe was very deſirous of not being known. Mademoiſelle d'Oſmond, her favourite, recommended her own confeſſor to her, as a very pious, wiſe, and moderate man. The princeſs was diſcovered by the ruſtling

ruſtling of her rich robes, when ſhe threw herſelf at his feet. The rigid confeſſor having reprimanded her ſeverely for ſome little errors in her conduct, 'Ah! 'd'Oſmond,' ſaid ſhe to her confidant, 'you have de-'ceived me; he is terrible.' She ran to madame de Maintenon's apartment. 'Aunt,' ſaid ſhe, 'I have 'at laſt found an excellent confeſſor; he has chid me 'ſeverely; but with ſo much wiſdom, that I will ne-'ver have any other confeſſor but him.' However, ſhe never went to him again: the ſecond reſolution perhaps was dictated by truth; the firſt and the laſt are ſeldom uninfluenced by pride.

The duke of Burgundy, the moſt virtuous of princes, the moſt tender and paſſionate of huſbands, conſumed in love for the dutcheſs, and languiſhed for the period that was to give her to his wiſhes. The lovers were not allowed to live together, till the expiration of two years, on account of their extreme youth; but they continually ſought opportunities of being alone together, often eſcaped their important ſpies, and always ſeparated with regret.

Madame du Lude exerted all her art to keep them aſunder. The prince claimed the rights of Hymen, the princeſs ſoftly pleaded thoſe of Love. At length they abridged the appointed time; and all France was tranſported at it, as if it had foreſeen the beloved monarch theſe two children ſhould one day give it. The people could not ſee them, without taking an intereſt in their happineſs. The dutcheſs poſſeſſed virtues at an age, when the promiſe of them is ſcarcely expected; and the duke, by nature cholerick, raſh, and covetous, was, by the cares of Fenelon and Beauvilliers, become the gentleſt, the moſt benevolent, and moſt generous of men. His revenues were the riches of the poor; the money deſtined for his pleaſures, he diſtributed among old officers: he was acceſſible to every one; he thought nothing beneath his enquiry; and he remembred all. With regard to the eaſe and happineſs of the people, he had views ſurpriſing in a prince of ſeventeen years of age, and unhappily too ſurpriſing in princes of every age. Lewis adored him, notwithſtanding

ſtanding that averſion which all kings naturally have to a ſon, who has the heart of a citizen.

CHAPTER III.

The peace of Ryſwick.

FOUR treaties ſigned at Ryſwick, without any difficulties, and almoſt without objections, gave peace to Europe. The king reſtored to the emperor and to the king of Spain, all that he had taken from them, and all that had been re-united to the crown, by the chambers of Metz and Briſac.

The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were bold enough to propoſe in the conferences, that the king of England ſhould be driven out of France. Lewis anſwered only with theſe words, 'Great Britain ſhall never have 'peace of me at this price.' They were ſenſible of the great indecency of this propoſal; and confined themſelves to the demand of removing him from Saint-Germains, on account of its contiguity to Verſailles. Lewis, enraged that they ſhould preſume to preſcribe him rules for his conduct in his own kingdom, replied, 'The king and queen of England are unfortunate, and are my friends.'

The reſtitution of ſo many conqueſts, gave Lewis leſs uneaſineſs than that article, by which he acknowledged William for the lawful king of Great Britain; he had always conſidered him as his perſonal enemy, and the general enemy of all kings: however, he was pleaſed with the eſteem and reſpect which the uſurper expreſſed for him. 'It is not juſt for the king of 'France,' ſaid William, 'to hate me; for no one has 'praiſed him more than I have done: when he made 'any new regulation among his troops, I have immediately copied it; any new ſtep of his, any extraordinary council, gave me uneaſineſs; I have imitated him on many occaſions; I have feared him on 'many more, and I admire him in all *.'

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* Manuſcripts of the marquis de Dangeau.

The people who had murmured at the duration of the was, now murmured againſt the peace. Our plenipotentiaries were inſulted at Paris, as if they had betrayed the intereſts of their country. What did they gain, they aſked, by ſo many victories, ſo many ſucceſsful ſieges, ſo much bloodſhed? as if the ceſſation of ſuch fatal proſperity was not ſufficient gain; they wanted the king to keep all his conqueſts. Alas! if France had been aggrandized with a few more towns, would her ſubjects have paid a penny the leſs?

The courtiers boaſted of the king's extreme moderation, a virtue falſe as the praiſes they laviſhed on it. The reſtitution of conqueſts, if not extorted, is either a weakneſs in the prince, or a crime againſt the ſtate, which thoſe conqueſts ought to have indemnified, for the expences of the war. He reſtored all, becauſe he could keep nothing; the allies had been often vanquiſhed, but abounding in reſources, and full of vigour, they were preparing to invade him on every ſide. It muſt then be granted, that Lewis made peace very ſeaſonably for himſelf; and for a conqueror, that was doing a great deal.

However, all Europe joined in admiring the equity of the conditions he propoſed at firſt, and the facility with which he afterwards ſoftened them; he appeared juſt, becauſe till then he had appeared only ambitious; when he relinquiſhed Lorrain, he ſpoke thus to Couvonge: 'I have too long delayed making this reſtitution 'to your maſter; I ſhould have made it to the late 'duke, for whom I always had a great eſteem, if he 'had not ever been among my enemies. I would rather reſtore a prince his dominions, than diſpoſſeſs him of them.'

A celebrated Annaliſt * and the author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, upon his word, alledges that the expected death of the king of Spain, was the ſecret motive

* See the Chronological Abridgment of the hiſtory of France, by the preſident Hanault, p. 450.

motive for all the ſacrifices made by France to the tranquillity of Europe. If I may be permitted to oppoſe the opinions of two writers of ſuch diſtinguiſhed merit, I would ſay, that this was only in appearance the motive; that the peace had been negotiated for five years; that it was not probable the king of Spain's death ſhould be foreſeen ten years before it happened; that the poverty of the people was carried to a deplorable extremity, that the king was well acquainted with their miſery; and that compaſſion alone determined him to make peace; that his deſigns upon Spain, whatever thoſe deſigns were, would have been better ſeconded by a victorious army well paid, than by the moſt able negotiator; that Luxembourg and Louvois were no more; the former for glorious campaigns, the latter for honourable treaties; and that love and a deſire of reſt, put an end to this war, which the reſentment of a miniſter againſt madame de Maintenon had begun. In the congreſs of Ryſwick, nothing was conſidered but the reſtitutions made by France; its exhauſted condition was not ſeen.

It is not poſſible to read this part of the hiſtory of the paſſed age, without deploring the unhappineſs of the people, who are always unreaſonably ſacrificed to the cruel caprice of princes, who quarrel becauſe they are weary of peace, and are reconciled becauſe they are weary of war; like children, who are as eager to embrace, as ready to fight. Would it not have been wiſer, if the conferences of the congreſs, had preceded the declaration of war? Diſputes might have riſen, they would have been amicably concluded; the miniſters would have made themſelves underſtood by each other; Lewis XIV. would have ſaid to the Dutch, 'I 'will faithfully obſerve the treaties of Munſter and 'Nimeguen.' The empire would have repreſented to him, that it was not juſt for one of his parliaments to diſmember its dominions by an *arret*; and that he would blame them if they ſuffered it. The Engliſh would have proved to him, that they did not force a king upon the nation whom it was unwilling to accept;

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they would all have agreed; and then what an effuſion of human blood had been ſpared!

CHAPTER IV.

The Publick Good.

LEwis thought ſo little of ſucceeding to the whole monarchy of Spain, that, after the peace was concluded, his firſt care was to diſmember it. That phantom of glory, ſo long adored, was now vaniſhed. By the partition treaties, he ſacrificed to the publick tranquillity, his claims to the whole ſucceſſion of Charles II. His views now terminated in the happineſs of his people; and his ſole ambition was, by a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration, to heal thoſe wounds, which war and the deſire of unbounded dominion had made in the ſtate.

Madame de Maintenon, who was often conſulted, and always with advantage, pointed out the evil, and ſometimes found the remedy for it. She was engaged in all affairs of ſtate, although ſhe believed herſelf wholly incapable of the truſt *, 'Becauſe,' ſaid ſhe, 'I have entered too late into them.' The native rectitude of her mind, the ſtrength of her underſtanding, and the juſtneſs of her conceptions, ſupplied the want of habit. The king, whom Mazarin had trained up to the moſt profound ſecrecy, ſometimes concealed from her particular circumſtances, either that he was not willing to ſhare with any other, the glory of ſchemes which he only had formed, or becauſe he was reſolved to preſerve that independence he was ſo fond of, or perhaps, he was reſerved at the intreaty of a miniſter: but he ſoon returned to an unbounded confidence. Madame de Maintenon again mixed in the tumult ſhe thought ſhe had eſcaped, always deploring the ſad neceſſity which engaged her in the buſineſs of the ſtate, yet employed always in it; and ſhe had a right to be ſo.

* In a letter to the princeſs of Urſins, in the cabinet of cardinal Lanti.

ſo. The intereſt which every citizen ought to take in the happineſs of his country, obliged her to promote that happineſs by all lawful ways. This is the duty of all ſexes, all ages, and conditions; and thoſe who cannot perform this duty by their employments, their advice, or their influence, ought to perform it by their prayers and wiſhes: every title which can give a right to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, were united in madame de Maintenon, as ſubject, favourite, or wife. A miſtreſs who diſpoſes of employments, who diſtributes favours, who preſides at the deliberations of the council, debaſes the authority ſhe divides, the nation ſhe governs, the lover ſhe adviſes, and the miniſters whom ſhe oppoſes; but a wife may, without any offence to publick decency, warn her huſband of the evil which others conceal from him; of the good which he but half performs; ſhe may guard him againſt the inſinuating poiſon of flattery, by ſhewing him the truth without palliation or diſguiſe; ſhe may preſerve him from thoſe ſnares which his miniſters lay for his credulity or his paſſions; and this was madame de Maintenon's conduct. She guarded Lewis againſt Pontchartrain, who made himſelf neceſſary only in trifles, and neglected the eſſential part of buſineſs. Againſt Barbezieux, who divided his voluptuous mornings between his miſtreſſes and his paraſites, while the neglected officers were left to yawn, or execrate in his antechamber. Againſt Châteauneuf, who neither knew how to make a report, or to be ſilent. Againſt the intendant of the buildings, who dared to preſent falſe accounts to the king, while the king did not dare to find fault with him, for fear of killing him by a ſingle reprimand *.

Madame de Maintenon knew how to ſet bounds herſelf to her power; ſhe often gave her opinion, but ſeldom hazarded her advice; ſhe reſiſted the danger-

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* Memoirs of the biſhop of Agen. 'The king ſaid 'to me,' (it is the biſhop who ſpeaks) 'he is old, and 'his mind is greatly weakened; if I ſhould chide him 'about this affair, he would break his heart.'

ous temptation of multiplying dependants; ſhe was never ſeen with a croud of importunate petitioners, who ſeek to engroſs every thing to themſelves: there was no neceſſity to purchaſe at a high price, a moment's audience of one of her favourites, or to write twenty letters to her, to force an anſwer of two words. A confeſſor, a domeſtick, a ſervile courtier, could not boaſt of governing her; her ears were ſhut to reports, as well as to recommendations; ſhe had been ſo often deceived in thoſe perſons whom ſhe had ſerved, that ſhe was always apprehenſive leſt ſhe ſhould confer benefactions on inſolent preſumption or artful vice, at the expence of modeſt merit or of humble virtue. This conduct ſilenced the malecontents; for the people never murmur againſt the favourite who regulates affairs, but againſt the perſon who diſpenſes favours. The power madame de Maintenon poſſeſſed was peaceful and ſolid, becauſe it was not felt.

Father de la Neuville, a Jeſuit, having intreated her, without knowing who ſhe was, to procure him an audience of madame de Maintenon, 'What is your 'buſineſs with her?' ſaid ſhe. 'I want an employ-'ment for one of my brothers,' replied the Jeſuit. 'you would addreſs yourſelf to a wrong perſon,' reſumed madame de Maintenon, 'ſhe ſometimes aſks alms of the king, but never demands favours.' 'She 'has great power,' anſwered the father. 'Not ſo much 'as you imagine,' returned ſhe. 'Ah!' ſaid the Jeſuit, 'it is to madame de Maintenon I have the ho-'nour to ſpeak; ſhe only could diſtruſt the extent of 'her power and influence.'

She regularly anſwered all the letters that were ſent to her; but they were generally upon ſubjects in which her charity was engaged. She would often dreſs, dictate her anſwers, and converſe with her friends at the ſame time. The king, obſerving that theſe correſpondences took up a great deal of that time which he thought very precious, propoſed to her, to take an almoner. 'An almoner!' ſaid ſhe, 'would be very 'uſeful to me, but would ill ſuit with my condition.'

Valincour

Valincour ſollicited for the place of ſecretary to madame de Maintenon; but ſhe rather choſe to give this employment to a pupil at Saint-Cyr, rejecting every thing that could give her the appearance of grandeur or oſtentation.

The moment arrived that ſeemed deſtined to give happineſs to France. Madame de Maintenon was upon the point of diſcloſing the moſt uſeful councils, and Lewis of following them; but des Marais, Briſacier, Fenelon, La Chetardie, and Bourdaloue himſelf, inſtead of giving her advice, conducive to the publick good, recommended faſting and prayer to her. They ſlightly paſſed over the protection due to the people, and dwelt upon the extreme attention ſhe owed to the affairs of the church: ſo natural it is for eccleſiaſticks, in all ages, to concenter the ſtate in themſelves. If madame de Maintenon had had a philoſopher inſtead of a divine for the director of her conſcience, ſhe would have been leſs pious, but France would have been happy.

It is greatly to be lamented, that a woman, with the intention, the capacity, and the power of doing ſo much good, ſhould have performed ſo little. Des Marais removed her doubts and apprehenſions concerning her wanderings in prayer, preſcribing auſterities, and ordered her to communicate frequently. He ſpoke to her of exerciſes of piety to be performed by the king *, but ſaid not a word of what he owed to

* See the biſhop of Chartres' letters; there is one which is not to be found in the collection, lately publiſhed by the abbé Berthier. 'Something has come 'into my mind, which I think it my duty, madam, to 'communicate to you. It is my opinion, that you 'would perform a very meritorious action, if you 'could prevail upon the king to form a kind of pray-'er for himſelf, in thoſe moments when you find him 'leaſt embarraſſed, and readieſt to be influenced by 'ſentiments of piety. This form of prayer ſhould be 'very

to his ſubjects. He expected and hoped that grace would miraculouſly guide a prince whom it had but ſlightly touched, as if empires were to be governed by inſpiration. He required the moſt fervent piety in a man, whoſe imagination was not lively enough to render a Being preſent to it, whom he believed and honoured, but without confidence or love. He lamented with madame de Maintenon, that the king gave ſo little time to prayer, as if labouring for the happineſs

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'very ſhort, very ſimple, and proportioned to his ſtate 'of inattention; I would only accuſtom him to regard 'God, under that idea which ſhall moſt affect him, as 'of greatneſs or mercy; and more eſpecially to make 'him ſeek God within himſelf. Perſons like him often paſs their whole lives without knowing, without 'taſting God, and without ſeeing him there: they 'conſider him as an unuſual object, and at an infinite 'diſtance; but if you can bring the king to find 'God but once within himſelf, he will taſte the 'concealed manna, and loath the onions of Egypt. 'God will communicate himſelf by little and little 'to him; and by ſecretly touching the heart, will 'do more with an inattentive ſpirit, than the beſt 'inſtructions. Endeavour, I conjure you, madam, to 'effect this pious work; liſten not to the ſuggeſtions of human wiſdom, but reſign yourſelf to the 'ſimplicity of the ſpirit. The beſt method of making this trial, is to accommodate yourſelf to the 'weakneſs of a ſoul, which perhaps, has never felt 'God: be like the prophet, who ſhortened his ſtature to that of the child he endeavoured to reanimate; ſubmit to his weakneſs, ſuppreſs arguments 'which would ſoon fatigue him. The length of 'three *miſerere*'s will ſuffice for the firſt time: follow 'him ſtep by ſtep; ſtop, begin again ſeaſonably.' Here follows a long enumeration of the attributes of God, which the biſhop concludes with theſe words: 'You ſee, madam, I am neither reſerved nor cautious; nor would I chuſe to be either with you.'

neſs of his people, was not the beſt devotion in kings.

Notwithſtanding this unhappy inattention to the publick good, yet the people were not wholly neglected; though what was done for them, was done imperfectly and ſlowly. From the peace to the year 1701, the annals of France ſhew Lewis giving judgment againſt himſelf in ſuits at law; and commanding the magiſtrates to give judgment againſt him likewiſe in all doubtful caſes; repreſſing luxury by his own example, remitting to the provinces part of the free gift, encouraging agriculture, protecting trade, and aboliſhing the poll-tax *, purſuant to the promiſe he had given to his people.

The number of perſons who received penſions was diminiſhed. The king made this regulation in madame de Maintenon's apartment, without conſulting his miniſters. He always granted very large penſions; and madame de Maintenon always leſſened them, being convinced, that it was better to confer ſmall benefactions upon a great number of perſons, than to enrich a few.

In the finances, every thing was to be bought. 'I 'will not ſuffer favour and patronage to be purchaſed,' ſaid the king to the comptroller general; 'and I 'command you to declare my will to all thoſe perſons 'in employments under you.'

Two of the clerks were deprived of their poſts; and ſeveral ladies were threatened to be baniſhed from the court. The comptroller-general was in great conſternation at this rigour; his hands might poſſibly be pure, but thoſe of his officers were not ſo.

The military degree, which after Louvois' death, had

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* By an arret of the council of ſtate, December 19, 1697, the poll-tax was only laid on the people for the firſt quarter of the year 1698; after which the ſaid tax was to be ſuppreſſed entirely, conformable to the declaration of the 18th of January.

had fallen into contempt, was reſtored to all its prerogatives, without damping that ſpirit of emulation which produces brave actions, in the hope of being rewarded. Pontchartrain, having named ſeveral officers to the king, for the poſt of captain of the gallies, earneſtly recommended the chevalier de Froulé. 'I find Froulé is your choice,' ſaid the king, 'he deſerves to be promoted; but there are officers as brave as he is, who are his ſeniors, and who have no one to ſollicit for them; it is therefore fit that I ſhould take care of their intereſts.' And accordingly he choſe the eldeſt *.

The duke of Burgundy was admitted to the council for foreign affairs. 'You ſhall not have a voice at firſt,' ſaid the king to him, 'but, by hearing the debates, you will learn how to vote.' He afterwards acquainted him with the affairs within the kingdom, as particularly as if he had always directed them, and with as much confidence, as if he had reſigned the empire to him.

The duke of Burgundy was as ſollicitous to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of the kingdom, as if he was ſoon to govern it. He deſired to be informed of every thing relating to the provinces; and the intendants had orders to ſend him the moſt circumſtantial memoirs: a journey incognito would have inſtructed him better.

By travelling over France, he would have ſeen happy towns and ruined villages; the country deſerted, manufactures going to decay, the induſtrious labourer groaning under the weight of impoſts, the indolent monk fattening upon the fruits of the earth, which he did not cultivate; he would have ſeen a people wretched, that was worthy to be happy; he would have found that it was eaſy to increaſe the good, and to diminiſh the evil.

The intendants but ill ſeconded his hopes and his deſigns. One of them had lived twenty years

* The marquis de Dangeau's manuſcripts.

like a king in his diſtrict, yet was ignorant of its ſtrength, its reſources, and its nurſeries; another exclaimed againſt the inhabitants of his; here one, upon his arrival in his province, would exaggerate the inconveniencies and abuſes, in order to obtain a more extenſive power; there another, grown old in the adminiſtration, would palliate and defend them, to ſtifle the cry of publick oppreſſion. The intendants of the ſtate-counties would paint the aſſemblies of the three orders, repreſented by the fathers of the country, as a ſet of rebels; thoſe in the counties of elections, would boaſt of the advantages ariſing from the arbitrary *taille*, as if they were apprehenſive that that inſtrument of tyranny would be ſnatched out of their hands: ſome of them would dwell much upon trifling circumſtances, and ſlightly paſs over ſuch as were worthy of the prince's notice; others were hardy enough to propoſe means for levying new impoſts: all acknowledged the evils brought on the kingdom by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, but none deplored them. The duke of Burgundy was early taught, by experience, that the repreſentative of the king, is ſeldom the friend of the people.

CHAPTER V.

The archbiſhop of Paris. Father de la Chaiſe. The curate of Verſailles.

NOailles had a ſoul more elevated than Godet des Marais; he poſſeſſed the ſole confidence of madame de Maintenon, but made leſs advantage of it for himſelf than for his dioceſe. He propoſed that the biſhopricks ſhould be divided; he attempted to reform the manners of the courtiers; he would not ſuffer the king's council to govern the church, nor the church to deny a portion of its revenues to the demands of the council. When conſulted upon affairs of ſtate, he always declared the truth with more boldneſs than the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition ſeemed to promiſe.

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He was greatly concerned at the reduction of the rents of the Town-houſe. 'Sire,' ſaid madame de Maintenon to the king, who ſeemed rejoiced that he had found an eaſy method of paying his debts, 'You 'are then going to forbid your parliaments to proſecute 'the robbers on the highway.' The king told her, that the neceſſities of the ſtate obliged him to make this reduction. Madame de Maintenon inſiſted, that a king ought not to fail in his engagements, till after he had ineffectually tried every poſſible means of fulfilling them.

She grieved to ſee new buildings erected every day with a magnificence that ſeemed to inſult the publick poverty; and openly declared her diſapprobation of the chapel of Verſailles. She ſo effectually cured the king of his paſſion for building, that his expences for his pleaſures were confined to the embelliſhment of his gardens. Pontchartrain propoſing to him to decorate Paris with publick edifices, Lewis replied, 'My 'miniſters, by continually filling my ears with glory, 'have made all Europe believe, that I place mine in 'the addreſſes of my people; I love to build, but, 'for the future, never ſpeak to me more, of either 'building for Paris or myſelf. Let my people be well 'fed, I ſhall always be well enough lodged.'

The abuſe of authority afflicted madame de Maintenon, and enraged the archbiſhop. Private orders were at firſt only uſed againſt traitors; afterwards in favour of ſome families, whoſe honour the court was willing to preſerve; and at length againſt the Janſeniſts, who ſigned the formulary, to avoid the anathemas of the church, and dogmatized in ſecret to ſtifle their remorſe.

Theſe orders were now ſo frequent that they formed a kind of inquiſition in the ſtate, and France was upon the point of being governed by letters de cachet. The hereticks were apprehenſive of informers, the men of letters of dangerous ſuſpicions, the innocent and the guilty dreaded alike a ſecret ſentence, always more cruel, and leſs juſt than a publick one. The archbiſhop of Paris never ceaſed to repreſent to madame de Maintenon, that God would one day call the king

to an account for all the injuſtice committed under his name; for all the arbitrary proceedings of the council; for the baniſhment of ſo many perſons, contrary to the uſual forms; for all the evils which attended that new practice of the law, contrary to the known rules, always inſolent, ſometimes equitable, but always ſuſpected of not being ſo.

Madame de Maintenon often repreſented the fatal conſequences of theſe abuſes to the king, who, confounding the right of arreſting a citizen without proof, with that of trying him without forms of law, conſtantly replied, 'This has been the cuſtom in all times;' So dangerous are the firſt uſurpations: however, he ſeemed full of reſpect for the laws. 'When once we 'ſwerve from them,' ſaid he, 'we know no longer 'where to find them.' But he expected that every thing ſhould be done with great expedition, and all by himſelf; he was juſt, and he believed that his miniſters were ſo likewiſe. This is the moſt common and the moſt ſtriking injuſtice attributed to kings.

Madame de Maintenon, not being able to hinder theſe private orders and proſecutions againſt what were called crimes of ſtate, attempted at leaſt to make them leſs rigorous. She was informed of the ſeverity practiſed at Vincennes and the Baſtile, from whence ſo few wiſe men have been delivered, and ſo many deſpairing wretches have died. The priſoners were not allowed to have books, their friends were not permitted to viſit them, and the ſacraments were refuſed them. She conjured the miniſter to have a heart.

She prevailed upon the king to examine well into the merits of thoſe eccleſiaſticks who were recommended to him for the dignities of the church. The power ſhe had over him, her connections with the biſhops, her acknowledged wiſdom and piety, might have given her great influence in the nomination to benefices; however, ſhe contented herſelf at firſt with having inſpired the king with a reſolution to ſeek the good of the church, without entering any farther into its affairs. A biſhop coming to return her thanks, for an

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abbey lately beſtowed upon him, 'You owe me no 'acknowledgment, monſieur,' ſaid ſhe, 'I did not 'till now know that the king had given it to you; I 'neither concern myſelf in the affairs of the church or 'the ſtate:' and then this was true.

But afterwards ſhe was ſo earneſtly ſolicited by the archbiſhop of Paris, and by the biſhop of Chartres, to drive away the wolves from the Lord's fold, that ſhe became the patroneſs of the clergy, who had then occaſion for a powerful ſupport. Father de la Chaiſe was often deceived, and ſometimes he was willing to be ſo. The greateſt part of the petitions were ſimoniacal. One pleaded the great ſervices of his anceſtors; another the wounds his relation had received in battle; this inſinuated, that he had been ruined by the war, and that a benefice would pay his debts, as if the revenues of the church were the price of the blood that was ſhed in fighting; that boaſted the nobility of his deſcent. All claimed notice from merits foreign to their profeſſion.

Father de la Chaiſe generally made choice of greedy and ambitious men to propoſe to the king. He was greatly blamed for treating theſe holy affairs with too much levity; for giving an abbey to one of his brothers, who deſerved only bounds for the chace; for accumulating benefices for one of his nephews, who was a diſgrace to his family; for placing at the heads of the richeſt convents in France, three of his nieces, one of whom had been publickly convicted of ſo ſcandalous a crime, that he was obliged to have her confined. His brother, the ſeneſchal of Lyons, purchaſed the poſt of captain of the palace-gates from the marquis de Saint-Valier: many jeſts were circulated at the expence of this new count de la Chaiſe.

The archbiſhop of Paris was alarmed at the confeſſor's great intereſt with the king; there was a neceſſity for ſetting ſome bounds to it. The prelate filled the king with ſo many ſcruples; madame de Maintenon made him ſo often aſhamed of the bad choice he had been induced to make, through the partial repre-

ſentations of father de la Chaiſe, that the Jeſuit, in great terror, ſaid to his friends, 'I am ruined: 'I have it no longer in my power to recommend 'an eccleſiaſtick; and, very ſoon, I ſhall not be 'able to exclude any.'

The king, that he might know what eccleſiaſticks were beſt qualified for the dignities of the church, demanded a liſt of the moſt virtuous and pious among them from the duke de Beauvillieres, and madame de Maintenon, another from the archbiſhop of Paris. The promotions were more judiciouſly made, the tranſlations were leſs frequent; the king was told, that tranſlations were ſeverely prohibited by the ſacred canons, and that they excited ambition and avarice among the biſhops. A reſidence in the dioceſe was now expreſsly commanded; ſometimes a look from the king ſent back to their dioceſes thoſe biſhops who were ſeen at his levee; ſometimes an order from the attorney-general ſhortened their ſtay at Paris. 'If the biſhops, who haunt 'the court, knew how much they are deſpiſed,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'they would never 'appear there; and pride would oblige them to 'do what their duty cannot.'

She was continually exhorting the king to chuſe the biſhops from among the vicars general. Lewis approved this maxim; and from that moment thoſe places, before ſo much diſdained by the abbés of quality, were earneſtly ſollicited by them, and very ſoon abuſed. The king ſupported the juriſdiction of the biſhops; he heard their complaints of the uſurpations made by the parliaments of Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux, and gave that famous edict ſo favourable to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, but ſo often eluded.

The church expreſſed her gratitude for theſe ſervices by an eaſy and generous conceſſion of the free gift. In vain the miniſters exclaimed againſt the partiality of aſſeſſments; in vain they exaggerated the neceſſities of the ſtate; the king would

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not allow any attempt to be made upon the right of a voluntary ſubſidy; the precious remains of that which formerly every province poſſeſſed; the image of ancient liberty, ſo grievous for the counties where elections are made, but by which the privileges of the ſtate counties are preſerved.

Father de la Chaiſe, to revenge himſelf upon madame de Maintenon for the loſs of his power, and in order to recover it, covertly attacked Noailles with the king, his counſellor, and his chaplain. The prelate, in conſequence of the confeſſor's inſinuations, being ſuſpected of Janſeniſm, was warmly defended by madame de Maintenon, who ſometimes exaggerated the virtues of the accuſed, and ſometimes the faults of the accuſer; but in vain ſhe endeavoured to enforce the merit of ſo many mandates of the archbiſhop againſt the doctrine of Janſenius. Father de la Chaiſe demanded, why Noailles, who condemned the propoſitions of that doctrine, protected the diſciples of it? The king perceived this palpable contradiction; the archbiſhop ſeemed to him a heretick, ſo much the more dangerous, as he had not the appearance of one; but theſe unfavourable impreſſions were effaced, in the firſt audience Noailles had of the king. The prelate, full of candor, humility, and gentleneſs, might be guilty, but could never be hated.

His private correſpondence with madame de Maintenon was at length diſcovered. Father de la Chaiſe, who was more beloved than eſteemed by the king, enjoyed his confidence one day through inclination, and loſt it the next through reflection. The confeſſor endeavoured to render madame de Maintenon ſuſpected by the king, and ſome Janſeniſts, who at her recommendation had been provided for in the church, furniſhed him with an opportunity, not to decry her faith, but to diſcredit her councils; reports were oppoſed to reports, and Noailles was made a cardinal, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Jeſuits to the contrary. Madame de Maintenon,

tenon, whoſe thoughts were all employed on her laſt hour, was deſirous when ſhe died to leave the king in his hands; ſhe looked upon the accuſation of Janſeniſm, as the crime only of thoſe whoſe piety and manners were exemplary, and thoſe holy diſputes as a war between the clergy, who reſolved to be free, and the Jeſuits, who attempted to enſlave them completely: a war, of which religion was the pretence, and envy the motive.

Cardinal de Noailles, finding her in this diſpoſition of mind, formed ſchemes for removing father de la Chaiſe, and for giving his place to father d'Emeric, who, ambitious, and plotting for the greater glory of God, continually beſet Verſailles, to deprive father de la Chaiſe of a poſt which he thought himſelf better qualified to fill. Madame de Maintenon engaged in this ſcheme; ſhe attributed all the king's ſins to the indulgence of his confeſſor; ſhe conceived that he ought to be called to this employment by a vocation from heaven, and not by a cabal at court; that he ought to endeavour to merit by good works that grace which was neceſſary for filling it well; ſhe would have had father de la Chaiſe endeavour, by fervent prayer, to obtain of God the ſalvation of his penitent.

His equipage was not ſuitable to the humility of a religious; his luxurious life gave ſcandal to weak minds, drew ſighs from the devout, and ſarcaſtick jeſts from the courtiers: even the Jeſuits murmured at it. Father Thyrſus Gonzalés, general of the order, had given him ſevere, but ineffectual reprimands. A coach drawn by ſix gay, mettleſome horſes; a country houſe ſituated near Paris, to attract every one's eyes; gardens in the magnificent taſte of the age; elegant repaſts given to his friends; all in him enforced, in ſpite of his vows, the rights and privileges of the triumphant church.

The Janſeniſts attributed to him the inſolence of a man, who has every day his God in his hands, and his king at his feet; they alſo complained that his hands were open to gifts; one preſented him with

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fine horſes, another with medals. The abbé Deſcamps gave him a very curious cabinet, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the library of the profeſſed houſe; a monument of his learning and of his avarice.

The king knew part of theſe faults, but he had occaſion for an indulgent man. The place of confeſſor is often obtained by the arts of cabal, but only kept by becoming convenient. Father de la Chaiſe was mild, obliging, incapable of contradicting his penitent, ſevere upon great ſins, indulgent to frailties; he inſpired the king with all that averſion to devotees, which he felt ſo ſtrongly himſelf, and ſo much the more eaſily, as the king had often diſcovered them to be hypocrites, frail or heretical. It was by the ſame arts that he compleated the ruin of father d'Emerick; Janſeniſm had removed him from the dutcheſs of Burgundy; devotion excluded him from the king.

Cardinal Noailles and madame de Maintenon, now caſt their eyes upon another Jeſuit, for director to the king. Father de la Chaiſe warded off this ſtroke; and his power with Lewis, ſuperior even to the laws of honour, kept one of his nephews in the army, though convicted of cowardice, and obnoxious to a whole regiment, which uſed their utmoſt endeavours to have him broke.

The prelate and the lady were not diſcouraged; one ſuſpected him of making uſe of his ſkill, to induce the king to ſin againſt the dictates of his conſcience; the other accuſed him of not exerciſing all the duties of his function to prevent thoſe ſins. The cardinal was deſirous of giving the king another confeſſor, through hatred of evil; madame de Maintenon, through the love of good.

The curate of Verſailles was very ambitious of confeſſing his pariſhioner. He had already had ſome converſations with the king, which gave him hopes; and he was continually ſhewing him the qualities of a confeſſor, as if he intended to perſuade him, that the painter reſembled the portrait he drew. Having one day ſollicited a penſion from the king for an actreſs, who had

had quitted the ſtage for the convent, 'How happy 'is ſhe,' ſaid the king, 'to renounce the world for 'a life of penitence! it is very difficult to become 'righteous.' 'Every thing is eaſy to grace,' replied the curate; 'When the evil of one's paſt life is to be 'repaired,' reſumed the king, 'and when there is no 'poſſibility of repairing it: how greatly is ſuch a per-'ſon to be pitied!' 'God is willing to ſave you,' anſwered the curate; 'it is not in vain that he raiſes 'theſe pious thoughts in your mind; your moſt ſolid 'fame (to convert him it was ſtill neceſſary he ſhould 'be flattered) is to ſecure your ſalvation, by repairing 'the faults you have committed in your youth,' 'All 'this is very true,' replied the king, 'but there are 'faults of a certain nature, which cannot be repaired.'

It is not to be doubted but the king meant his having taken a wife by force from her huſband; his unjuſt wars, and conſequently many murders; thoſe immenſe ſums levied upon the poor, and expended in guilty pleaſures; and all thoſe evils which a barren repentance can only efface, in a ſituation where it is eaſy to commit injuſtice, and impoſſible to make reſtitution.

Either through caution or wiſdom, Hébert did not probe the wounds which he had no hope of curing; he had recourſe to general arguments upon the goodneſs of God: the king was greatly affected; and owned he was ſo to madame de Maintenon, who immediately acquainted cardinal Noailles with what he had ſaid. The curate, encouraged by them, hazarded ſome counſels; but whether they were miſplaced, or that grace has moments which never return again, the king liſtened to him with indifference *.

Father de la Chaiſe, who was alarmed at theſe private conferences, repreſented Hébert as an imprudent man, devoted to the cardinal, and who neither thought, wrote, or ſpoke, but according to his ſuggeſtions. Hébert, growing every day more importunate, ſtrengthened theſe prejudices, by continually reminding the king of that firſt converſation of which he had profited ſo little,

* The biſhop of Agen's memoirs.

little, and which the king was deſirous to forget. The curate one day quoting the example of ſaint Lewis, to prove to the king, that he might ſecure his ſalvation upon the throne, 'Saint Lewis,' ſaid the king, 'received the communion but twice a year; however, 'he was a great ſaint.' 'Yes,' replied the curate, 'but he confeſſed himſelf twice a day.' 'Then he 'was a great ſinner,' anſwered the king coldly.

Madame de Maintenon, finding the king was not able to diſengage himſelf from father de la Chaiſe, reconciled herſelf to him, in hopes of reconciling the Jeſuit to devotion. Father de la Chaiſe had a long converſation with her; he juſtified himſelf for the king's languor in exerciſes of piety, promiſed her, that for the future he would ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom to the king, and be wholly impartial in his recommendation of eccleſiaſticks. Notwithſtanding this peace, madame de Maintenon and the confeſſor behaved as if they ſuſpected the ſincerity of each other's profeſſions, and were jealous of each other's power.

A trifle it was ſaid was the cauſe of this miſunderſtanding. Madame de Maintenon having ſollicited a benefice for an abbé whom ſhe patronized, Father de la Chaiſe promiſed her to mention him ſeaſonably to the king: when he preſented him the liſt, the name of this abbé was at the head of it. The king effaced it; the confeſſor, with ſeeming concern, told the king, that this eccleſiaſtick had been recommended to him by madame de Maintenon. 'It is for that very reaſon,' replied the king, 'that I have blotted him out of the 'liſt: I will not have her meddle in theſe affairs.' 'But, Sire,' ſaid the Jeſuit, 'I ſhall incur her diſ'pleaſure; I thought the commendation of ſo pious 'a lady ought to have ſome weight.' That is indeed a reaſon,' replied the king, 'but if it is a good one to 'you, it is not ſo to me.'

By this little circumſtance, one may eaſily imagine that madame de Maintenon had occaſion for all that wit which is attributed to her, to govern a prince ſo nicely jealous of his power. It alſo ſhews, that at firſt ſhe had very little influence in the nomination to be-

nefices;

neſices; ſhe afterwards intereſted herſelf more in the affairs of the clergy. Conſcience is eaſily made a party in what one likes. The biſhop of Chartres perſuaded her, that it was a duty; if he had not been her director, would he not have made it a crime?

However that may be, ſhe was offended with father de la Chaiſe, for his affecting to put the name of her friend at the head of his liſt. She conſidered this ſeeming mark of reſpect as an artifice, to prevail upon the king to prohibit her for the future, from laying any reſtraint upon the jeſuit by her recommendations. It was to this miſtake, that the confeſſor attributed the coldneſs ſhe firſt ſhewed him, which was afterwards followed by ſuch great hoſtilities.

But it is probable, that this enmity had another cauſe. Madame de Maintenon might eaſily have forgot a ſlight injury to herſelf, but ſhe could not pardon in a confeſſor, a train of actions unſuitable to his character; ſhe advanced every day in piety, and piety was not even honoured by father de la Chaiſe: ſhe ſometimes delivered herſelf to all the auſterities of a nun, and the prieſt to all the luxury of a courtier; ſhe was continually inciting a prince to the practice of the ſublimeſt virtues, who was ſtill too much intoxicated with miſtaken glory; and father de la Chaiſe did not aſſiſt her endeavours, and was apprehenſive of fatiguing an indolent mind, almoſt as eaſily ſoothed as alarmed; ſhe loved Lewis with the moſt tender affection; and the ſole end of her love, was to ſecure his ſalvation. This was her chief happineſs, her moſt ardent prayer, her only paſſion, and the worldly life of a confeſſor, whoſe duty it was to preach by example, ſeemed to her more likely to irritate God, than to draw bleſſings upon his penitent.

Hence that continual diſtruſt of father de la Chaiſe, that oppoſition to his increaſing power, that ſcheme for baniſhing him from the court, that extreme indifference for his whole ſociety, the moſt uſeful one to the church, the only uſeful one to the ſtate; hence that inclination to believe that it was this order which had formed the project of rendering the road to heaven eaſy for ſinners; that joy when Rome or the Sorbonne con-

condemned any theſis of theirs; that terror of the power of an order, ſuppoſed to be ambitious of governing, becauſe they were qualified for it, and ſo many other unjuſt effects of an averſion, in its principle abſolutely juſt.

Father de la Chaiſe, whoſe reputation the Janſeniſts had but ſlightly ſtained, now raiſes our compaſſion in the letters of madame de Maintenon to cardinal Noailles. He loved pleaſures, he had a taſte for magnificence, but he had virtues, which a perſon leſs pious than madame de Maintenon, would eaſily have perceived: each one has a manner of thinking peculiar to himſelf; the moſt exact penetration may be weakened or deceived by a diverſity of characters and intereſts; whatever was not holy, was in madame de Maintenon's opinion criminal; although the judgment we form of men be not exactly true, the heart may be free from malice; it is human nature that is weak in what it practiſes, and in what it condemns. Madame de Maintenon thought it neceſſary to awaken the king's conſcience by ſeverity; and father de la Chaiſe conceived, that the true method of haſtening his return to grace, was to expect its influence with patience; and the event ſhewed that he was right.

The king attained that ſolid and practical piety, to which his wife and his confeſſor aſpired to conduct him, though by different methods: in a word, father de la Chaiſe did not poſſeſs the qualities of a religious, but he had all thoſe that were neceſſary for the confeſſor of a king. To attribute to a man the faults neceſſarily connected with his place, is the ſource of erroneous judgments.

CHAPTER VI.

Billets of Confeſſion.

THE king's deſigns for the publick good were as extenſive as they were juſt. He endeavoured to diſcover the cauſe of the exhauſted condition of the ſtate, and found it in the flight of the Huguenots, by which

which our provinces were depopulated, and our enemies enriched; he heard the propoſal for recalling them, without any ſigns of diſpleaſure. The deſcent made by the duke of Savoy into Dauphiné, gave him a proof of the fidelity of thoſe Huguenots who remained in the kingdom. That prince had brought arms for twenty thouſand men, ſuppoſing that the ſectaries would declare for him as ſoon as he arrived; but not one of the new converts would liſten to his offers, nor to the exhortation of the proteſtant miniſters, whom he brought in his train *.

At the congreſs of Ryſwick, the king heard without reluctance, the ſollicitations of the proteſtant princes for the return of the refugees: but theſe ſollicitations were weakly urged; they had profited by our loſs, and were afraid of being weakened and impoveriſhed by their return.

A memorial upon this important ſubject was preſented to the king: it was communicated to madame de Maintenon, and by her refuted. This refutation is ſtill extant in her own hand †. We may there find that ſhe but ill underſtood the ſtate of affairs, that ſhe had an abhorrence of toleration, but that ſhe had not examined into the claim the Huguenots had to be tolerated. If by this paper, the fugitives were prevented from ever returning to France, Lewis XIV. and madame de Maintenon are greatly to be pitied, the former for being determined by the weakeſt reaſon imaginable, the other for oppoſing her country's good, through an impulſe of blind zeal which made her miſtake it.

Since thoſe who had fled were not to be recalled, it ſeemed neceſſary at leaſt to detain ſuch as threatened to follow them. The king was extremely afflicted, to find that the biſhops differed in their ſentiments concerning the treatment that was to be given to the new converts; ſome declared that they ought to be led to the altar,' with the bayonets fixed at the ends of the muſkets *;

* On the contrary, ſays the French gazette, they were the firſt to fall upon his troops. Auguſt 1692.

† See the pieces juſtificative, No. 21.

kets *; others that violent methods ſhould be uſed, to make them attend to the exhortations, but that the ſacraments ſhould be prohibited to them; and ſome propoſed, that they ſhould try what advice and inſtruction could do with them. Each of theſe methods had its difficulty: the king was ſenſible that the firſt would only be productive of ſacrilege, that the ſecond would make hypocrites, and the third atheiſts: the dilemma was great; gentleneſs makes few converts, and violence very indifferent ones. However, it was neceſſary that this part of the king's ſubjects ſhould have a religion; they were without temples, it was not fit that they ſhould be without worſhip alſo; it was equally dangerous to reſtore them their own, and to impoſe upon them one which they abhorred.

The king, that he might be enabled to make a uniform regulation, ordered the biſhops to give him their ſentiments in writing, and to addreſs their papers to cardinal Noailles. Both the queſtion and the anſwer will make the clergy of France eternally infamous. The queſtion was, whether hereticks might be forced to believe, and to receive the communion? Cardinal Noailles and father le Tellier were the only eccleſiaſticks who maintained, that it was a tyranny before men, and an abomination before God. All the others concluded for the ſacrilege, even Boſſuet himſelf (for thoſe who beſt defend the myſteries of religion, are not thoſe who ſport with them the leaſt) Boſſuet, who had at firſt groaned at the propoſition of this violence, conſented to this profanation of the awful ſacraments †.

The moſt virtuous amongſt the prelates gave the moſt atrocious advice. The biſhop of Chartres in particular, that angel of the court, declared in all humility and chriſtian meekneſs, that the ſword of authority ought to be raiſed againſt ſuch as refuſe the Euchariſt; ſo eaſy is it to be pious, ſo difficult to be wiſe and good. Philoſophy has now ſo humanized and poliſhed the manners

* All this is copied from the biſhop of Agen's manuſcripts, page 108 and following.

† Madame de Maintenon's letters.

manners of all the orders of the ſtate, that it is poſſible this fact will not be believed; but there is one of thoſe orders ſo little ſubmitted to its empire, that it is ever ready to renew the wild rage of the ſame miſtaken zeal. This reflection may well be pardoned me, the juſt rights of humanity force it from me: thoſe rights which formerly were ſo audaciouſly violated, and which are at preſent ſo ill ſecured.

The king gave cardinal Noailles a day for examining the biſhops papers. The prelate brought him an extract from them; but the king would ſee the papers entire, and, tedious as they were, he read them all in one afternoon. The conformity of their ſentiments did not determine him; but he was ſtruck with ſome paſſages from ſaint Auguſtine, who intreated the counts Boniface and Marcellin, governors of Africa, to perſecute the Donatiſts.

The cardinal diſſipated thoſe clouds which authority raiſed againſt reaſon, by repreſenting to the king, that the Donatiſts were then armed; that it was neceſſary to oppoſe force to force; that ſaint Auguſtine, to whom they attributed the ſentiments of a tyrant, was the gentleſt of men; that neither in his writings, nor in thoſe of the antient fathers, could there be found any traces of violence exerciſed againſt thoſe who were in error; that it was the cuſtom of the church to vomit hereticks from her mouth, and not to force them to return into her boſom; that this uſage had never varied; that all the rituals excluded ſuch as were excommunicated from the celebration of the holy myſteries; that to permit perſons to attend divine ſervice, who were under the cenſures of the church, was contrary to the firſt laws of its diſcipline; but, by forcing them there, the majeſty of religion was violated.

Theſe arguments made a great impreſſion upon the king; but the tumultuous cries of a hundred biſhops, who were againſt toleration, filled his ears. Already they accuſed him of weakly yielding. He was willing to be obedient to their voice; he was unwilling to be cruel to his people; he ought to have known that the

ſpirit

ſpirit which would force his ſubjects to believe, was the ſame which had aſſaſſinated his grandfather, who was ſuſpected of not believing. He deferred the deciſion from day to day, fluctuating between the counſels of his whole clergy, and the counſels of one honeſt man. Madame de Maintenon was delivered up to all the perplexities of a conſcience, which, now yielding to compaſſion, revolted againſt the obedience due to ſo many biſhops, and now acknowledging their power, ſtifled the dictates of compaſſion.

The king, whom a noble effort of reaſon, too ſeldom exerted in ſuch as ſeek counſel in difficult caſes, could alone engage to prefer the advice of one to the advice of all, durſt not abſolutely determine, abandoned the ſectaries to their enemies, and ſent inſtructions into all the provinces, which neither authorized nor diſapproved of rigorous methods; but he was perſuaded to believe that he ſhould obtain from their paſſions what he could not force from them by ſeverity; and in this idea he ſubjected their marriages to the benediction of the prieſts. Formerly they uſed to contract them before the chief judge of the place, in obedience to an arret of the council, given in 1685. Without cancelling this arret, the Huguenots were obliged to marry in the Roman church, like the reſt of the king's ſubjects. The altars were beſieged with lovers, who came in crouds to purchaſe the nuptial benediction, by a whole year of ſacrilegious worſhip. Theſe impious biſhops arrogated to themſelves the merit of abjurations, which they forced from the paſſionate Huguenots, who, on their ſide, vowed to make atonement for them, by ſhewing a publick contempt for the catholick ceremonies and tenets, as ſoon as they had married their miſtreſſes.

Marriage, which with the proteſtants is but a civil act, now became a ſacrament: a contract the moſt favourable to ſociety, was ſubjected to long and arbitrary trials. The ſacerdotal benediction, which the ableſt divines did not think neceſſary to the validity of marriage, became an eſſential part of it; but the biſhops, perceiving that the huſbands returned to their

former

former errors, forbade the curates to marry the Hereticks, and condemned the whole people to celibacy.

This evil ſtill ſubſiſts; the Huguenots avoid an union, which, if entered into contrary to the laws, deprives the children of their inheritance, and the fathers, if conformable to the laws, of all the rights of conſcience. Families become extinct, the provinces are depopulated: but of what conſequence is it to the church, that the ſtate ſhould loſe its citizens? a bitter and ignominious reproach, bold perhaps but juſt, as long as the clergy do not baniſh from the church ſuch as are not its true diſciples; as long as they neglect to demand of the prince a revocation of a law which produces only celibacy or profanation; as long as it neglects to propoſe that matrimonial contracts ſhould be performed before the principal judge of the place, as the only remedy againſt depopulation and ſacrilege.

Cardinal Noailles continued firm in his opinion for civil toleration; but, convinced that the church ought not to tolerate any thing impure, excluded the huguenots from the participation of the ſacraments, and conſtantly maintained that ſaint Denis, whoſe ſee he filled, never forced any perſon to attend at his maſſes.

Among the Proteſtants in the dioceſe of Paris, there were ſome, who, to make their ways to the dignities of the law, or to gain military preferments, profeſſed the Catholick religion, and preſerved the opinions of the huguenots; but, ſtill ſcrupulous enough to abſtain from the communion, they purchaſed from mercenary prieſts certificates of their being good catholicks. In their laſt moments, they ſhewed the curates, who came to exhort them, theſe ſhameful atteſtations, under covert of which they made their wills, and died in peace. To remedy this abuſe, cardinal Noailles contrived billets of confeſſion, an excellent curb to the impoſtures of perſons who thought confeſſion an intolerable grievance.

Many of the huguenots were pleaſed with theſe wiſe regulations, but thoſe among them, whoſe ambition or vice

vice obliged to appear Catholicks, murmured at a law which unmaſked them. We are neither permitted, ſaid they, to re-unite to the church, or ſeparate from it; we are indeed hereticks, but it is not certain that we are ſo, there is but a bare probability of it; the king's edicts acknowledge but one religion in his kingdom, and we conform to it; we have a right to the protection of the church, the participation of the ſacraments are mere diſcipline, and the archbiſhop violates the laws of the prince, who has admitted us to it; the ſacraments are granted to all who demand them; in every other dioceſe, they are forced upon ſuch as refuſe them.

Such were the arguments urged by theſe impious Huguenots; but not one of them durſt complain to the ſovereign courts, of the billets of confeſſion, or of the refuſal of the ſacraments. But although they ſhould have complained, the biſhop had nothing to fear from parliaments, who were convinced, that the policy of the church was, by its nature, dependent upon the church alone; and that points relating to diſcipline, however little they may hold of the tenets, or what is believed to be ſuch, are, by that little, ſheltered from the examination of the civil power.

CHAPTER VII.

Marriage of mademoiſelle d'Aubigné.

THE cardinal and the duke de Noailles mutually ſupported each other at court: both the brothers were in high favour; the king loved the marſhal as one of his moſt faithful ſervants, and madame de Maintenon eſteemed the cardinal as a biſhop worthy of the firſt ages of the church. The prelate and the duke were alike envied by the Jeſuits and the courtiers; but attentive to all the ſecret cabals of their enemies, they exerted the ſame degree of art to preſerve their favour, that they would have employed to acquire it. The duke ſcarce quitted the king a moment; he knew that princes of a light and inconſtant diſpoſition, are

are diſguſted with the two frequent recurrence of the ſame object, and that princes, whoſe friendſhip are habitual, are cooled by abſence. The prelate viſited madame de Maintenon every monday: the pleaſure ſhe found in that day's converſation, made all the reſt of the week inſipid to her. The former admitted to the higheſt degree of familiarity with his maſter, knew how to enjoy it without abuſing it; he could ſpeak ſincerely without offending, and could ſay the moſt agreeable things without flattery; he was always near him without ſeeming officious; obtained his favours without ſolicitation; in a word, he was always the ſame, yet always appeared new. The other, in poſſeſſion of the moſt unbounded confidence, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the wiſdom of his counſels, eſtabliſhed the ſtricteſt order in his dioceſe, and, by his extreme vigilance and aſſiduity, ſtrengthened and confirmed that intercourſe of prayers, auſterities, and affairs of ſtate, which, for the glory of God, and for his own intereſt, he had ſettled with madame de Maintenon.

The cabal attacked the marſhal on what they thought his weakeſt ſide; they could not reproach him with vice, they therefore endeavoured to make him contemptible: his ſeeming devotion was the ſubject of their ridicule; and Rouſſeau, the bitter reviler of all his benefactors, made ſatyrical verſes againſt him. The efforts of his enemies to leſſen his character, rendered him dearer to the king, who put him in a condition to prove to them, the extreme injuſtice of their cenſures. He anſwered ſatires by victories; he deſtroyed the ſuſpicion that was raiſed of his capacity, by ſieges judiciouſly conducted and ſucceſsfully ended; he ſhewed them, by the exact diſcipline he eſtabliſhed among the troops, that the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, which had expoſed him to their raillery, could give place to a well-timed ſeverity: he had not that quickneſs of thought ſo remarkable in the Vendômes, nor the ſolid judgment of Luxembourg, but he was capable of great application; his conduct was always prudent, and his courage, though calm, was uniform and ſteady;

ſteady; his ill ſtate of health obliged him to quit the army, at an age when he might have been moſt uſeful to it. The count d'Ayen his ſon filled the void which his father had left.

This young nobleman made his firſt campaign in the troops of the mouſquetairs; and when ſcarce paſt a child, had acquired the friendſhip of the king and of madame de Maintenon. Mademoiſelle d'Aubigné, brought up by her aunt, and tenderly beloved by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, promiſed ſo great a fortune to the man whom ſhe honoured with her hand, that all the young noblemen of the court aſpired to obtain her, while their fathers durſt not venture to ſolicit ſo advantageous an alliance. Mademoiſelle d'Aubigné ſeemed deſtined as the reward of the higheſt merit: it was not doubted, but that madame de Maintenon would marry her like a mother, and that the king would portion her like an uncle.

Madame de Maintenon might have given her to a prince of the blood; and her friends, by reminding her of the prince of Conti and the count de Soiſſon's marriage, ſeemed to inſinuate to her, that ambition ought to direct her choice. The authority of Mazarin was then leſs ſecurely fixed than her's; his nieces were not ſuperior to mademoiſelle d'Aubigné, either by birth, by merit, or by beauty; and the princes were then more delicate in thoſe ſorts of alliances. The deſire of having a ſupport after the death of the king, her brother's ambition, the examples of others, the glory of mixing her blood with that of the Bourbons, the inclination Lewis ſhewed to multiply unequal matches, perhaps to juſtify his own; all theſe conſiderations could not ſhake the reſolution of madame de Maintenon. The marchioneſs de Monteſpan, ſaid they, would not have balanced a moment: 'It is for that very reaſon,' anſwered madame de Maintenon, 'that I do.'

The princeſs of Harcourt durſt not preſume to propoſe her eldeſt ſon, the prince of Guiſe, for mademoiſelle d'Aubigné. That his alliance might be thought the

more conſiderable, ſhe had ſacrificed her youngeſt ſon to him, whom ſhe obliged to enter into religious orders. This abbé having afterwards betrayed his maſter, the princeſs threw herſelf at the king's feet to implore his pardon. The king raiſing her, ſaid to her with that majeſtick ſweetneſs ſo peculiar to himſelf, 'Well, 'madam, we have both had a loſs, you of an unwor-'thy ſon, I of a bad ſubject; we muſt make the beſt 'of it.'

The princeſs of Harcourt endeavoured to inſpire mademoiſelle d'Aubigné with a paſſion for the prince of Guiſe, either becauſe ſhe thought that if the children were agreed, the conſent of the relations would ſoon follow; or becauſe ſhe hoped to force propoſals from a perſon, to whom ſhe durſt not venture to make them; or perhaps ſhe flattered herſelf, that madame de Maintenon would be afraid of refuſing the alliance of a family, whom it has always been found dangerous to offend; or perhaps by making the firſt advances, ſhe intended to lay an obliging conſtraint upon her humility, which ſeemed to ſuggeſt to her, that ſo great an alliance was not practicable.

Madame de Maintenon learned from the ingenuity and candour of her niece, the deſigns of the princeſs of Harcourt, who had ſoothed with the title of highneſs the vanity of a young girl who had been brought up by her aunt, with no other higher expectations than of marrying a private gentleman; but it was that education which rendered her worthy of being the wife of a prince.

No woman ever practiſed leſs reſerve in her converſation and behaviour than the princeſs of Harcourt; ſhe ſeemed to have acquired the right of ſaying every thing, and what in any other would have been extremely diſagreeable, in her was pleaſing. One evening when ſhe was in the dutcheſs of Burgundy's apartments, where all was eaſy gaiety, and unreſtrained freedom, they put crackers under her petticoats, faſtened one of her ſleeves to the duke of Berry's coat, and her robe to the ſtool ſhe ſat on. The princeſs of Harcourt, frightened at the noiſe of the crackers, jumped up

up with her petticoats burning, and ran into the antechamber, dragging after her a prince and a ſtool, crying out to the king, 'Sire, your children are 'wags.'

The princeſs of Harcourt was remarkable for her indiſcretion, as madame de Maintenon for her diſintereſtedneſs; and probably it was this that leſſened her hopes. Heaven ſports with the fortunes of men; when Agrippa d'Aubigné lived, the Guiſes aſpired to the daughters of their kings, and a hundred years afterwards, they were afraid to demand his great granddaughter in marriage.

The family of Noailles ardently wiſhed that mademoiſelle d'Aubigné might be given to the count d'Ayen. The publick had deſtined her to him *: but this report was ſoon deſtroyed. The marſhal de Noailles, who charmed every body but madame de Maintenon, was not more hardy than the princeſs of Harcourt: the marſhal feared a refuſal, but the archbiſhop of Paris undertook to manage the affair.

April 1698.] Madame de Maintenon, upon the firſt propoſal that was made to her, promiſed her niece to the count d'Ayen. Lewis ſeemed to favour the count's pretenſions. Thus ſhe gratified at once her eſteem for the cardinal, her tenderneſs for mademoiſelle d'Aubigné, and ſhewed her ſubmiſſion to the will of the king.

This alliance, ſays the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. was rather advantageous to the count d'Aubigné's daughter, than to the duke de Noailles: a very ſingular paradox! there was not any nobleman in the court, who would not have thought it an honour to have married her, even without a portion. He would have been indemnified for it, by advantageous governments, by being early raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the army, by employments given to all his relations, and by an influence in the court, which would have made him the diſpenſer of favours to others, and ſecured the higheſt poſts to himſelf. The huſband of

* See madame de Coulanges's letters.

mademoiſelle d'Aubigné muſt neceſſarily be conſidered as nephew to the king.

The family of Noailles was honoured with the peerage before the elevation of madame de Maintenon, and with the ſtaff of marſhal of France without her ſollicitation; but, ſince this marriage, it is become the moſt powerful family in the kingdom, illuſtrious always in each of its branches, and at preſent has as many noblemen as members.

Madame de Maintenon was ſo ſenſible of the advantages that family obtained, that ſhe often ſaid, 'This marriage is the glory and the ſhame of my 'life.' The glory by the perſonal qualities of the count de Ayen, whom the king regarded as one of his moſt uſeful ſubjects, and the ſtate as one of the moſt faithful citizens; the ſhame on account of the immenſe fortune that was given with her niece. Madame de Maintenon was very deſirous of confining it to the gift of her eſtate, which ſhe ſettled upon her; but the king, who was generous to exceſs, gave her a million of money, and fifty thouſand crowns in jewels.

The morning after the nuptials, he went to viſit the new-married couple, who were ſtill in bed; and, drawing the curtain, he told the count d'Ayen, *That he gave him a penſion of ſix thouſand francs; and madam*, ſaid he, to the dutcheſs of Burgundy, *I adviſe you to ſay the ſame to the counteſs*. It was in vain that he ſeemed to conſider theſe preſents as trifles, which could not ruin his people; madame de Maintenon well knew that all that was given to the courtier was taken from the peaſant. Shocked at the publick poverty, ſhe ſeemed to think that the happineſs of her family was formed upon the miſery of a hundred others.

The enemies of the family of Noailles were overwhelmed with grief at this marriage; they renewed the remembrance of all thoſe idle tales of the capital of Budes; of the family of Bouillon; of the capitoulat of Toulouſe, as if they had not been unanſwerably refuted; but when they ſaw a daughter of the houſe of Noailles marry the marquis de Valliere, governor of Bourbonois; another paſs from the bed of the

the marquis de Gondrin into that of the count de Toulouſe, they cried that this houſe leaned on the king's left hand. The marſhal de Noailles, who was more a philoſopher than it is fit a courtier ſhould be, with difficulty perceived that he had enemies.

In the count d' Ayen, madame de Maintenon found an affectionate ſon and an obliging nephew. She gave him a thorough knowledge of the court; ſhe truſted him with affairs of the greateſt importance; ſhe enabled him to render ſervices to the ſtate; ſhe enforced the value of them, without demanding any reward; ſuch was the return ſhe made to his tenderneſs and aſſiduity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Marriages.

ALthough madame de Maintenon did not abuſe her influence with the king, yet there were perſons, who, through ambition and avarice, often abuſed that which they boaſted of having over her. This intercourſe of pretended friendſhip and real gratitude has always ſubſiſted, and ever will. Courtiers are a kind of merchants, and it is the deſtiny of the favourites of our kings, whether diſintereſted or covetous, to be accuſed of ſharing in theſe ſordid gains.

To obtain a moment's audience of madame de Maintenon appeared of the higheſt conſequence to the ladies of the court; one boaſted of a converſation with her, which ſhe had meanly ſollicited, as of the greateſt happineſs imaginable: another dated, from her toilet, her letters to her judges; this lady, reproved by madame de Maintenon in the king's name, came out of her cloſet with an air of ſatisfaction; that, not being able to ſell madame de Maintenon's patronage, exacted a high price for her promiſe to procure it. All wrote her letters, in which they emulouſly ſtrove to forget their birth, their dignity, and their pride.

The marchioneſs de *** was extremely diſliked by madame de Maintenon; was ſure of it, yet reſolved to paſs for her favourite. This lady was ambitious of marrying one of her daughters to the duke de ****; but ſhe could give her no fortune, and, ſince the duke inſiſted upon this article, it was neceſſary to flatter him with the hope of an influence at court, which would be equally advantageous to him; but how ſhould ſhe get acceſs to madame de Maintenon! who was as deaf to the importunity of pride, as eaſy to modeſt indigence.

The marchioneſs had long wiſhed to be admitted to her table, a diſtinction very ſeldom granted; ſhe again endeavoured to obtain this honour; but without ſucceſs. Since ſhe could not dine with her, ſhe muſt ſeem at leaſt to have dined with her; ſhe went to viſit her immediately after dinner, at the hazard of being coldly received.

Madame de Maintenon's apartment at Verſailles has a balcony, which looks over the marble court. The marchioneſs de ***, perceiving the duke's equipage, pretended to be taken ſuddenly ill; and, deſiring ſome water and a napkin, ſhe waſhed her mouth and her hands, as if ſhe had juſt riſen from table; that very evening her daughter's marriage was concluded. The duke de **** thought himſelf extremely happy to marry without a portion a young lady whoſe mother had dined with madame de Maintenon.

At court no marriage was made without her knowledge and advice: there, it is intereſt only which forms every tye; but theſe are imperfect, if royal favour has not a part in them. Madame de Maintenon ſigned the contracts of the duke de Richelieu, the marquis de Surville, the duke de Brancas, and many others; ſmiling without doubt at the meanneſs of adulation, which made the freeſt act of ſociety depend upon the conſent of the prince. She had not the ſame averſion for indigent widows, as ſhe had for flattering dutcheſſes; theſe widows were called her *ladies of the palace*. She provided for them and their families with ſuch unbounded generoſity, that the marchioneſs de

Dangeau

Dangeau one day ſaid to her, 'Theſe fair widows will 'ruin you at laſt.'

Human virtues, the children of ſelf-love, always reſemble their parent. Madame de Maintenon loved unfortunate orphans and widows, becauſe ſhe herſelf had been both. Indifferent to the homage paid her by the wealthy, ſhe was nicely ſenſible of the affection of the poor. She heard with careleſs inattention the flatteries of a duke, and the moment afterwards liſtened with joy to the artleſs gratitude of a beggar, who called her mother. Hence thoſe oppoſite opinions that were formed of her character, unequal, harſh, haughty, in the eyes of one part of the court; too good, too humble, in the eyes of the other.

CHAPTER IX.

The Dauphin.

THE libertiniſm that reigned in the court was not likely to encreaſe the friends of a woman whoſe ſole aim was to eſtabliſh virtue there. The dauphin, after the death of his wife, lived with great irregularity; he loved madame de Roure, who was unfaithful to him, with an exceſs of paſſion, and treated the princeſs of Orleans with indifference, whoſe love for him was founded upon ambition.

The king, who hated miſtreſſes with all the bitterneſs of a man whom they had ruined, debaſed, and almoſt damned, often ſaid to the dauphin, 'Do not, 'my ſon, abandon yourſelf to women; you offend 'God; you give ſcandal to the people. A guilty 'paſſion is productive of ſhort pleaſures, but long and 'painful remorſe; profit by my errors, and let me not 'at leaſt have ſinned in vain *.'

* The marquis de Dangeau's Memoirs.

The dauphin could not have choſen a miſtreſs more diſpleaſing to the king than the counteſs de Roure: ſhe was ambitious, falſe, deſigning, and the king well knew how dangerous it was for a prince, admitted to all the councils, to love a woman of ſuch a character. She had given his ſon an invincible diſlike to a ſecond marriage, and the father thought it ſtill better to have a dauphineſs than a miſtreſs. Madame de Roure had as many deſires as ſhe ſaw men, as many favoured lovers as ſhe had deſires; and ſince the dauphin was reſolved to damn himſelf, Lewis would have him preſerve his honour at leaſt.

The infamous conduct of this woman threatened the kingdom with the moſt ſhocking vices, and expoſed the heir of it to the publick contempt. At one of thoſe ſuppers at Meudon, where the reſtraint of the ceremonial was firſt baniſhed by freedom, and afterwards a decent freedom by voluptuous eaſe, to which at length the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes of debauchery ſucceeded; the prince de Turenne, as he ſat at table, burſt into a loud laugh. The dauphin aſked him the cauſe; the prince, after many evaſions, at length ſaid, 'I cannot help being exceſſively diverted, when I reflect that of nine of us who are here, Du Roure is the only one who had not lain with the counteſs.'

Madame de Maintenon was ordered by the king to make remonſtrances to the dauphin upon the ſcandalous licentiouſneſs of his conduct. The dauphin promiſed to quit madame de Roure; to live regularly; no longer to divide his nights between champaigne and his libertine favourites; to reſtore order to his houſe; and to take leſs of that ſnuff which the king had ſuch an averſion to, although a very conſiderable part of his revenue aroſe from it.

Theſe promiſes were but ill performed; the dauphin, weary of the uniformity of his life, complained that there was not a gentleman in France who had not more liberty than himſelf, renewed his viſits to the counteſs de Roure, made long dinners with her, and ſtill longer ſuppers.

The

The king was aſtoniſhed that the dauphin did not obey him, as if the paſſions had a king. Madame de Maintenon turned the ſtorm from the dauphin, and the counteſs de Roure was baniſhed to Paris. The dauphin went privately there to viſit her; but all his motions were watched. The king threatned to ſend his miſtreſs out of his reach, 'Sire,' replied the dauphin, 'if your majeſty ſhould ſend her to the moſt diſtant 'part of the world, I will quit France to-morrow to 'go to live with her.'

The king, but little accuſtomed to theſe haughty anſwers, puniſhed him, by baniſhing the counteſs to Montpellier. The publick, although they hate the miſtreſs, yet are ever ready to juſtify the lover, attributed the king's diſpleaſure to his jealouſy of the dauphin. The merit of the ſon, they ſaid, was a crime in the eyes of the diſtruſtful father; he was diſmiſſed from the council, becauſe his inclination to relieve France raiſed uneaſy apprehenſions; he was removed from the court, becauſe he diſdained to cringe to a woman imperiouſly humble; he delivered himſelf up to pleaſures with exceſs, becauſe he was not permitted to enter into affairs of ſtate with dignity; and a thouſand ridiculous reports were circulated, which prove that a dauphin of France, in the opinion of the people, is never to blame.

The king was ſo great by his own eminent virtues, and ſo tender and affectionate a father, that none but mean and little ſouls could ſuſpect him of envying his children. He had admitted the dauphin at an early age into all the councils. At the taking of Philipſbourg, he diſcovered an exceſs of tenderneſs for his ſon, and heard with pleaſure this ſpeech from the count de Grammont, 'Your majeſty takes wolves like the 'dauphin and the dauphin takes cities like your majeſ-'ty.'

He often gave him the command of the armies, and put him in a condition to give terror to the enemy by the ſuperiority of his troops, and to gain the affection of the ſoldiers by his liberality. When he returned from the campaign of 1694, in which journey he had

travelled forty leagues in four days, he went to meet the dauphin, who, though not half ſo ſtrong as the prince of Orange, guarded the frontiers, from the Eſcaut and the Lys to the ocean, and embracing him, ſhed tears of joy: but ſuch is the malignity of men; he who in his actions is an Auguſtus, muſt become a Tiberius by their ſuſpicions.

The dauphin was incapable of attending to the affairs of ſtate; the eaſineſs of his temper gave him up entirely to the government of his favourites; he was virtuous when they were ſo, and when they were wicked, he launched with them into all the exceſſes of vice: he loved nothing but hunting, war, and the pleaſures of the table; ſatisfied with his rank of firſt ſubject, and ſeized with terror when he thought he ſhould be one day more. The king often ſaid to him, *What will become of France after my death?* The dauphin could hear him unmoved. Neither the confidence his father placed in him, his admiſſion to the councils, nor the important affairs that were then under deliberation, could rouſe him from his ſtate of inſenſibility.

Lewis, grieved at this habitual indolence, initiated the duke of Burgundy, while yet ſcarce paſt a child, into all the ſecrets of the ſtate. The little prince at firſt diſcovered no taſte for this diſtinction; and the king complained that there was no one in his family who was willing to learn to reign. That whirlwind of affairs, in which he had been toſt for forty years, proves better than a whole volume of morals, the hard condition of a king.

The dauphin retired to Meudon, and aſſociated with the Vendômes, who were diſcontented with the court. There giving a collation to the princeſs of Conti his ſiſter, that princeſs drank the health *of the old woman her mother in-law*; and the dauphin, a little intoxicated perhaps with liquor, drank to the health *of the old man.* The king and madame de Maintenon were informed of this indecent mirth. The dauphin perceived it by an unuſual coldneſs in the behaviour of his father, and the princeſs his ſiſter, by the refuſal of

a kiſs from madame de Maintenon, who ſaid to her, *No, madam, old women are never aſked for a kiſs.*

The duke de Rochfoucault acquired ſuch an influence over the mind of the dauphin, that he reformed his manners and regulated his conduct, as if he had been appointed by the father for the favourite of the ſon. The princeſs of Conti repaired this imprudence by a conduct ſo uniformly wiſe, that ſhe was pardoned, and pardoned for the laſt time.

The dauphin quitted madame de Roure, after having had a daughter by her, who was brought up in a convent in Paris, at a great expence. After his death madame du Courtamer, ſiſter to the counteſs de Roure, was in no doubt how ſhe ſhould provide for the orphan's ſubſiſtence: 'Shall we make a chamber-maid 'of her,' ſaid ſhe, 'or let her ſtill remain a princeſs?'

The king would not permit her to be legitimated, becauſe the infamous conduct of her mother made it doubtful who was her father: but the princeſs of Conti, moved to compaſſion by her youth and innocence, married her to monſieur Ménager, the ſame who negotiated the ſecret treaty with England.

The dauphin had amours with women of every rank. It was ſaid that he kept mademoiſelle de la Raiſin, an actreſs remarkable for her genius, and famous for her intrigues. She had ruined financiers, princes, and foreigners, but ſhe could not ruin the dauphin, who loved her a long time, with great tenderneſs and great frugality. He had a ſon by her, extremely like him in perſon and in mind, and who would have died in the moſt ſhameful poverty, if La Jonchere, treaſurer for the extraordinary of war, the ſame who propoſed to enrich France without trade, had not reſcued him from it, by giving him his ſiſter in marriage.

CHAPTER X.

The dutcheſs of Bourbon.

MAdame de Maintenon, who had in vain attempted to reform the dauphin, hoped to be more

ſucceſsful with the dutcheſs of Bourbon. This princeſs was then idolized by the king, but ſhe had no piety, and without that, he thought the chaſtity of no woman ſecure: an idea the moſt injurious imaginable to the ſex.

The dutcheſs of Bourbon loved the pleaſures of the table; he was apprehenſive they would lead her into other exceſſes. All the courtiers admired her wit, and dreaded while they applauded it: ſhe ſpared neither her brothers, her ſiſters, nor the *little duke* her huſband, nor *queen Maintenon*, nor the ſon of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, nor even herſelf: her jeſts were wounds, which ſhe aimed at all alike.

Madame de Maintenon was willing to indulge her in this fault: 'She is a child,' ſaid ſhe to the king, 'her play will be harmleſs, while ſhe has the ſimpli-'city of a child.' But as ſoon as ſhe perceived that by too great indulgence, what ſeemed at firſt the effect of the levity of her temper, and the ſprightlineſs of her wit, became unjuſt, malicious, and cruel, ſhe prevailed upon the king to treat her with more ſeverity; and her conduct was now ſtrictly obſerved.

The favourites of princes are often ſpies upon their behaviour, and often the betrayers of their ſecrets. The king was informed, that at an entertainment given by the princeſs, the whole court was ridiculed in ſatirical ſongs. Corbinelli had been there; and he was the perſon the king fixed upon to give him intelligence of all that paſſed. Monſieur d'Argenſon, the lieutenant de police, was ſent to the houſe of the lame epicurean, to take his depoſition.

The magiſtrate aſked him where he ſupped ſuch a night? 'I do not remember,' replied Corbinelli yawning. 'Are you not acquainted with ſuch and ſuch 'princes?' ſaid the magiſtrate; 'I think I have for-'got,' anſwered he. 'Did you not ſup with them?' reſumed the magiſtrate; 'I remember nothing of the 'matter,' ſaid Corbinelli. 'I think,' ſaid d'Argenſon, 'a man like you ought to remember theſe 'things.' 'Yes, monſieur,' replied Corbinelli, 'but

'but before a man like you, I am never a man like 'myſelf.'

Bad examples, dangerous advice, the auſtere manners of the court, which had even an influence over all amuſements, threw the young dutcheſs into ſome irregularities. She was ſurrounded with women, who were continually lamenting the misfortune of having a heart ſo formed for tenderneſs, yet not permitted to love. She now made more exceptionable parties of pleaſure; went ſecretly to Paris with madam de Blanſac, had private interviews with monſieur de Marſan, and gave ſufficient employment to the dutcheſs de Valentinois, who was grown old in the arts of intrigue, and readily engaged in her ſervice.

The king was informed of his daughter's bad conduct; the ladies who had greatly contributed to it were forbid the court; monſieur de Marſan was baniſhed; and madame de Maintenon was directed to make ſevere remonſtrances to the princeſs. Her reproofs were accompanied with ſo much gentleneſs, that the princeſs, attributing to timidity a moderation which the ſweetneſs of her temper ſuggeſted to her, haughtily anſwered, 'Do you expect, madam, that I ſhall in a 'few days become devout and pedantick like your-'ſelf? I only do what you did at my age.'

Madame de Maintenon might poſſibly have forgot theſe injurious words, but the princeſs boaſted of having ſaid them. A month before ſhe would have thrown herſelf at the king's feet, to implore his pardon for her faults; but, after aſſociating with women of infamous characters, ſhe became more bold; and was ſo far from uſing endeavours to obtain it, that ſhe ſeemed reſolved to deſpiſe it, if offered. Secure that the king would not have reſolution enough to puniſh her, ſhe engaged in new amours, in revenge for the meaſures that had been taken to put an end to the old; tranſported at being beloved by ſubjects, as if it reduced her to an equality with them; they loving her through ambition, as if that love exalted them to princes.

I would

I would much more willingly have ſuppreſſed theſe ſhameful intrigues; but beſides that, they are related elſewhere with partial bitterneſs, the corruption of manners among the great, by allowing an extreme licence to honour, reſtores hiſtory to its liberty.

Lewis by turns employed the tenderneſs of a father, and the authority of a king, to reſtrain this licentiouſneſs; but found that he muſt be contented to wait till age had abated the force of theſe firſt paſſions. He often uſed to ſay, that he found it more difficult to govern his family than his kingdom; the one he ſaw himſelf, the other he only ſaw through his miniſters.

Madame de Maintenon was as ſevere upon licentiouſneſs of manners, as ſhe was indulgent towards thoſe who wrote ſatires againſt her. If ſhe had been inclined to take revenge for thoſe injurious ballads, which at Paris were puniſhed, but were ſung at court, ſhe might have ſaid, like all other favourites, that her character was no longer her own: that in her perſon the prince was attacked; that ſhe could readily forgive the injury done to herſelf, but the affront aimed at the king excluded all pardon: ſhe made none of thoſe vain and ridiculous diſtinctions of falſe generoſity, which would at once enjoy the glory of clemency, and the pleaſure of revenge.

But although in publick ſhe appeared to deſpiſe the cenſures of malignity, yet thoſe who were admitted to an intimacy with her, perceived that ſhe was greatly affected with them. 'I am not ſurpriſed,' ſaid ſhe to 'one of her friends, that my conduct while I was 'young is ſuſpected, ſince ſo many women born in 'affluence, and united to the moſt agreeable men, yet 'yield every day either to the offers of avarice, or the 'perſuaſions of love: how ſhould they believe it poſ'ſible for a young woman to be virtuous, and be di'ſtreſſed?'

'Thoſe,' ſaid ſhe to madame de Glapion, 'who 'tear my reputation in pieces, have not known me; 'thoſe who have, knew that I lived irreproachably in 'that gay and agreeable ſociety, which it is ſo difficult 'to mix among without danger; but their known

'friendſhip

'friendſhip for me, my amazing elevation, and the 'malignity of thoſe who ſit in judgment upon my ac-'tions, render their teſtimony doubtful. It is a great 'misfortune when we do not finiſh our lives, with 'the ſame perſons with whom we begin it.' Nothing can more ſenſibly wound a delicate mind, than to have a reputation to defend.

An incident of no great conſequence raiſed new murmurs againſt her in Paris. The marchioneſs de Lancé kept almoſt open houſe; there was always deep play there, very free converſations, but good company, or what was thought to be ſo. They were drawn thither by two young girls, who practiſed all the arts of coquetry to gain admirers, and all the ſeverity of virtue to keep them.

The marchioneſs de Lancé, who was as much eſteemed as if ſhe had merited it, as much reſpected as if ſhe had not lived by lanſquenet, and paſſionately beloved, although ſhe exacted as much homage as if ſhe had been a princeſs, raiſed envy among all thoſe women, who were ſurpriſed that no one choſe to waſte his time or loſe his money with them.

They diſcovered that ſhe was not the widow of the marquis de Lancé; and they afterwards found that no ſuch perſon as the marquis de Lancé had ever exiſted. They reported that this pretended marchioneſs, after a youth ſpent in libertine pleaſures, had made a match for herſelf, which had enabled her to gratify all her paſſions; that, being the dupe of her lovers, ſhe duped in her turn, all thoſe who reſorted to her houſe to game; they took away her quality; her ſex became a problem. Notwithſtanding theſe ſcandalous cenſures her houſe was ſtill ſupported; they made a party againſt her among the devotees, who ſaid, that the groſſeſt crimes were practiſed there.

Madame de Maintenon's piety was alarmed; the adventurer had orders to leave Paris, and her two girls were ſhut up in a convent. Pharon was prohibited under ſevere penalties, but the king did not prohibit it to himſelf; and the court never gamed more than at that time. The people will always deſpiſe thoſe laws which

which are violated by the prince, who is, however, moſt bound by them, ſince he cannot game but at the expence of others.

As ſoon as gaming-houſes were ſhut up, ſocieties of wit were opened. This taſte became general: every one affected it, the nobles more than any others; and letters were ruined: they protected them and debaſed them; they liſtened to verſes, yet hated poetry; they lived with learned men, yet neither eſteemed nor reſpected them.

Thoſe who were fond of theatrical amuſements, murmured at the king's rigour, in baniſhing the Italian comedians for having, notwithſtanding his expreſs order to the contrary, played ſome licentious pieces before his children. Their true crime, they ſaid, was their having painted madame de Maintenon under the title of the *falſe prude*; and theſe two lines in a tragedy which was then played, were applied to her.

Qu'eut-elle pour monter au rang d'impératrice?
Un peu d'attraits peut-être, & beaucoup d'artifice.

'What had ſhe t' aſſume, th' imperial part?
'A few attractions, and a world of art.'

ELPHINSTON.

Madame de Maintenon, when ſhe was informed of theſe murmurs againſt her, ſaid to one of her friends, 'Daughter, it is dangerous to be the favourite of kings.' A man of honour will not write ſatires, but he is not diſpleaſed that they are wrote; were it not for ſuch writings, the great would think themſelves gods.

The king executed his ſcheme of reforming the manners of the court, notwithſtanding the complaints of thoſe that were intereſted in oppoſing it. If it had been ſooner begun, or if it had not been overthrown by a licentious regency, the character of the nation, would have been changed: and what ſhould we have become? we whom ſuperſtition had already loaded with ſo many chains! to regulate a kingdom with the auſterity of a convent, was a notion inſpired by fanaticiſm.

However,

However, the royal family gave the example of regularity to the court: vice no longer raiſed its head, but judged by the commandments of God, it was puniſhed with rigour: piety, or what aſſumed the appearance of it, could alone obtain favours from the king; even the heroines of Buſſy were converted; the cloiſter was the only aſylum now left for ſuch as had loſt their reputation; till then it was believed, that honour once loſt could never be recovered. The king, while he endeavoured to eſtabliſh piety, introduced only falſe devotion; which has no reſemblance to it.

CHAPTER XI.

Mademoiſelle Chouin.

THE dauphin, who had long indulged himſelf in a courſe of licentiouſneſs, became ſuddenly reformed: a fixed and violent paſſion, ſwallowed up all his other paſſions. She who inſpired it, was ſtill ignorant of her power; and the devotees attributed to their pious exhortations, that change which love only had produced.

Mademoiſelle Chouin had ſubjected this libertine, and knew it not. The prince ſaw her every day at the toilet of the princeſs of Conti his ſiſter, who made no diſtinction between this young beauty, and the reſt of her women.

Mademoiſelle Chouin forced herſelf into notice, by the extreme attention ſhe ſhewed to acquit herſelf of all the duties of her place. The majeſty in her countenance, the wit that ſparkled in her eyes, her graceful reſerve, all diſplayed the dignity of her ſoul; every charm of nature, profuſely laviſhed over her whole perſon, ſeemed to reproach fortune for the meanneſs of her ſtation, and invited the prince to repair this injuſtice. Mademoiſelle Chouin, when employed in the loweſt offices of her place, had ſo much dignity in her manner, ſo much grace in her actions, that while waiting on the princeſs, ſhe ſeemed herſelf to be attend-

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ed or deſerving to be ſo. The miſtreſs was diſtinguiſhed by the ſhape and ſtature of a divinity, the ſervant by that air of virtue, which ennobles all conditions.

The dauphin's frequent viſits to his ſiſter, raiſed ſuſpicions of his being in love with her. The report of this criminal paſſion was propagated in myſterious whiſpers; the more improbable it was, the eaſier it gained belief: his favourites no longer doubted it, but durſt not endeavour to ſound the heart of a maſter, who was now cautious for the firſt time.

Madame de Maintenon rejected this ſuſpicion thro' decency, and admitted it through the force of example. The king, who never knew that it is the inclination which makes the crime, intreated madame de la Valliere to exhort her daughter not to love, and not to ſuffer herſelf to be loved.

The princeſs of Conti being informed by the carmelite's letters that ſhe was beloved, and by the aſſiduity and unuſual ſilence of the dauphin, that it was by her brother, found her vanity more raiſed by the paſſion, than her virtue terrified at the inceſt which ſhe well knew could never be committed. But at length, being tired of the uncertainty, not daring to aſk any queſtions, diſguſted with the importunity of viſits, without knowing their purport, and perhaps ſuſpected, without the leaſt inclination to be guilty, ſhe intreated the dauphin to diſpenſe with her from receiving his viſits in a morning.

The prince, who could only ſee madamoiſelle Chouin at the toilet, and who had not hitherto formed a further wiſh, continued to viſit his ſiſter in her own apartment at noon. There without uttering a word, without turning his eyes, with calm and delighted attention, he contemplated her he loved.

This mute homage was neither underſtood by the princeſs nor her attendant. At length a billet explained it to mademoiſelle de Chouin, who refuſed to receive it, but refuſed with reſpect: a great number of other billets are given with the ſame ſecreſy, and rejected with the ſame rigour. The prince became every day more paſſionately enamoured of her whoſe unhappy ſituation

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melted him to compaſſion, whoſe beauty charmed him, and whoſe haughty virtue deſpiſed his offers.

The princeſs of Conti, tired of her brother's aſſiduities, confided to mademoiſelle Chouin her ſuſpicions of his inceſtuous paſſion. 'Ah, no madam,' replied mademoiſelle Chouin, ſhocked at the injurious ſuſpicion, 'it is not you he loves, it is myſelf.' The princeſs of Conti, either through pique at being undeceived, when the error was ſo agreeable, or indignation at ſo free and preſumptuous a confeſſion, or perhaps, becauſe ſhe was apprehenſive that a paſſion ſo meanly placed would debaſe the lover and exalt the miſtreſs, inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt mademoiſelle Chouin, who aſſured her that ſhe had not even read the billets. She was not believed: the unhappy beauty begs ſhe may be permitted to leave her; ſhe is forbid to go out of the palace, to complain, to love, and to pleaſe.

Mademoiſelle Chouin flew to madame d'Epinoy, who had placed her with the princeſs of Conti; ſhe related to her the ſhocking ſuſpicions her miſtreſs had entertained; her own imprudence in removing them out of reſpect to the dauphin; ſhe aſſured her ſhe was abſolutely indifferent to his paſſion; and that her honour, her virtue, and a juſt reſentment, would not permit her to continue any longer in the court.

The princeſs of Epinoy, who was apprehenſive that this affair would raiſe great ſcandal, and that it would be imputed to her, endeavoured to reconcile what ſhe owed to the piety ſhe profeſſed, and the reſpect due to the dauphin and the princeſs, whoſe confidant ſhe was; and perſuading herſelf that mademoiſelle Chouin was prudent and virtuous enough to reſiſt all the allurements of a prince's love, adviſed her to continue in the ſervice of the princeſs of Conti.

The dauphin, who was wholly ignorant of what had happened, went at the uſual hour to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter; and he no longer ſees mademoiſelle Chouin; he dares not aſk where ſhe is; he trembles leſt his paſſion has been diſcovered, and is convinced it is when he finds that ſeveral days paſs away, and

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ſtill ſhe does not appear; he ſeeks for her every where; ſhe flies him; their loves are croſſed before they know they are beloved, before they have told each other that they love.

It is probable that mademoiſelle Chouin felt no other ſentiments for the prince than what gratitude inſpired, ſuch gratitude as perſons of low rank feel for the great who condeſcend to love them; but the dauphin burnt with all thoſe fires which a paſſion ſo much the more ardent, as it is irregular and ill placed, kindles in the heart of a melancholy man.

He revenged himſelf upon his ſiſter for her cruel precautions, by excluding her from all his parties of pleaſure. The princeſs, who was always more happy at Meudon than at Verſailles, regretted the loſs of her influence in the court of her brother; ſhe ſoon gueſſed the cauſe of his coldneſs, and foreſeeing that all reſiſtance muſt end in ſubmiſſion, ſhe pretended to grant freely to the merit of mademoiſelle Chouin, what ſooner or later ſhe muſt be forced to grant to the power of the dauphin; ſhe appointed her her maid of honour, and gave her all the prerogatives annexed to this place.

Mademoiſelle Chouin, either becauſe ſhe was apprehenſive, that ſhe ſhould be too much expoſed to the ſollicitations of her lover, or becauſe ſhe knew that to deſpiſe the favours of fortune is the ſureſt way to merit and acquire them, conjured the princeſs to leave her in her humble ſtation, and promiſed to ſerve her, her whole life, without pretending to any higher honour and without murmuring at her preſent ſituation. The dauphin joined his intreaties to the princeſs of Conti's offers; but this furniſhed her with a new reaſon for not accepting of them.

Madame d'Epinoy is at length deſired to urge her to conſent. Mademoiſelle Chouin repreſented to her, that ſhe was only the ſport of the princeſs, who was ready to baniſh her in obedience to the king, as to retain her to pleaſe the dauphin; ſhe reminded her of all that had paſſed before, and maintained that it was her duty to avoid a rank which after all was but the

firſt ſtep to vice or to ſcandal; a benefaction of the dauphin's, a reward for the ſentiments he hoped to inſpire, or for the compliances his imagination had dared to promiſe him.

The devotee, who expected by her means to govern in the dauphin's houſhold, accommodated her virtue to her intereſt, and perſiſted in adviſing her to continue with the princeſs of Conti, under whatever title ſhe pleaſed.

Madame d'Epinoy, finding all the arguments ſhe could urge were ineffectual, employed the authority of madame de Maintenon, to whom mademoiſelle Chouin was repreſented as a young woman, whoſe uncommon merit and virtue rendered her more worthy than any other for the place of maid of honour to the princeſs of Conti. She acquainted her with mademoiſelle's refuſal to accept of the place; but was ſilent with regard to the dauphin's paſſion for her, upon which that refuſal was founded.

Madame de Maintenon ſent for this young girl, whoſe name ſhe now heard for the firſt time; ſtruck with her noble air and graceful modeſty, ſhe envied the princeſs of Conti the poſſeſſion of ſuch a treaſure; and, with all the warmth of friendſhip, preſſed her to accept the place that was offered to her.

Mademoiſelle Chouin was going to declare her reaſons for refuſing it; but madame de Maintenon ſilenced her by ſaying, 'I know all, however you 'ought to obey.' She afterwards reproached herſelf for theſe words, which ſeemed to inſinuate that ſhe really knew all, when the event ſhewed that madame d'Epinoy had concealed every thing from her which ſhe ought to have known. Mademoiſelle Chouin yielded at length, ſurpriſed without doubt, and perhaps ſecretly pleaſed to find ſo much ready compliance with the paſſions of the great, in two women ſo reſerved and devout.

Mademoiſelle Chouin, now the conſtant companion of the princeſs, received every day the adoration of the dauphin; but with an indifference that left him no hope of ſucceeding. She did not deign even to avoid

avoid him, or to ſeem alarmed at his pretenſions; in love, ſhe who complains of being attacked, almoſt confeſſes ſhe will ſoon be ſubdued; her mind was not altered by her change of condition; ſhe was contented with her preſent lot, and indifferent about the future.

Notwithſtanding the dauphin's caution, and the extreme rigour of his miſtreſs, their loves were ſoon diſcovered. The courtiers added to the little they had ſeen, all that they imagined, and even what they did not believe. The hall of Marly had never before been filled with ſo many malicious cenſures; ſee, cried they, the uſe that is made of piety. In the dauphin it conceals a mean and ill placed paſſion; in mademoiſelle Chouin it maſks the moſt refined coquetry; in madame de Maintenon and in the princeſs d'Epinoy, it is ſubordinate to views ſufficiently profane: as for the princeſs of Conti, it muſt be owned ſhe does not degenerate; it is natural for the daughter of madame de la Valliere, to give miſtreſſes to the ſons of kings.

The princeſs of Conti, enraged at theſe injurious reports, was determined to ſilence them by diſmiſſing mademoiſelle Chouin. Madame d'Epinoy, being informed of her deſign, ran to her, and intreated her not to ſacrifice innocence to the malice of the public, whoſe raſh cenſures would ſubſide of themſelves.

The dauphin conjured his ſiſter to ſpare his tenderneſs this cruel ſtroke, and threatned to revenge the inſult as ſoon as it was given. Mademoiſelle Chouin, calm in the midſt of the ſtorm, by which ſo many other perſons were agitated, reſigned herſelf to her deſtiny, without wiſhing for a greater rank, or dreading a fall, as indifferent to the convent as the court, ſuperior to the prince who adored her, and to the princeſs who baniſhed her.

Then it was that madame de Maintenon, the princeſs de Conti, and madame d'Epinoy, engaged in that correſpondence of letters, which at firſt turned only upon mademoiſelle Chouin, and was afterwards extended to all the intrigues of the court: ſo ſecret that not one of the courtiers ſuſpected it; ſo curious that

that the princeſs, in the laſt years of her life, read it often with pleaſure, and dying, left it to a phyſician, whom ſhe greatly eſteemed, as a pledge of the moſt unbounded confidence; ſo free, if we may judge of it by ſome fragments which furniſhed me with theſe facts, that it will not be publiſhed till after the death of certain perſons whoſe vices or follies are there diſcovered and ridiculed.

Mademoiſelle Chouin quitted the palace of the princeſs, and took refuge in the houſe of madame d'Epinoy. There the dauphin ſaw her with leſs conſtraint, but with as little ſucceſs; he was not able to force a ſigh from her, nor to engage her to ſpeak: he found her always attentive, but ſilent, always complaiſant, but inſenſible: yet love doubtleſs acted upon her heart; for how is it poſſible to be ſo paſſionately beloved without loving? But this love was ſo weak, ſo ſubjected to reaſon, ſo reſtrained by virtue, that her mind had all the freedom of indifference, though poſſibly all the ſenſibility of love.

Madame d'Epinoy was apprehenſive that the dauphin's frequent viſits, ſuſpicious if ſecret, and cenſurable if known, would hurt her reputation, and irritate the king againſt her. Having no other means to avoid this misfortune, ſhe ſacrificed her friend to her own intereſt and honour, and begged her, though with great decency, to quit her hôtel. Mademoiſelle Chouin went to Paris, hired a little apartment, changed her name, and there thought herſelf ſecure againſt the ſearch of the father, and the importunity of the ſon.

The dauphin, not doubting but that ſhe was confined in a convent by an order from the king, flew to madame de Maintenon, who declared that ſhe did not know what was become of her. He went again to madame d'Epinoy, who not daring to confeſs that ſhe had ſent her away, ſtrengthened his ſuſpicions by her evaſive anſwers.

The prince cauſed the offices of the ſecretaries of ſtate to be examined, but they afforded him no intelligence. The more he ſearched for her, the more he

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was convinced that ſhe was carried away by a verbal order, without any of thoſe forms, which are a kind of homage that tyranny, in the midſt of its violations of right, dare not refuſe to the majeſty of the laws. The king, who was informed of his uneaſineſs, feared and avoided a dangerous explanation, which muſt oblige him to ſpeak like a ſevere father, and perhaps to hear the anſwers of a deſperate lover.

The marquis d'Antin promiſed the dauphin, that he would ſoon diſcover where his miſtreſs was either detained or concealed: but all his enquiries were for a long time uſeleſs; there was not a convent in Paris, or a commiſſary of any quarter that could give him intelligence of her. At length he learned that ſhe lodged in the Fauxbourg St. Jaques, which the lieutenant de police knew before he did. The dauphin, whoſe every motion was watched, went to ſee her in a diſguiſe, which, however, could not deceive the ſpies that were ſet over him. The prince knocked at the door of her chamber; mademoiſelle Chouin opened it, knew him, and ſhut it inſtantly again. The prince waſted part of the night in the houſe with his favourite, who endeavoured to conſole him, while in his heart he curſed the prince, the miſtreſs, prudery, and love.

Mademoiſelle Chouin changed her lodging; the prince followed her ſtep by ſtep; but ſhe was always inacceſſible, either becauſe ſhe was apprehenſive that his deſigns were diſhonourable, or that ſhe hoped by her reſiſtance, to oblige him to have honourable ones. The dauphin became more ardent in proportion, as his miſtreſs became more inexorable. The marquis d'Antin endeavoured to take him off this purſuit, by conſtantly maintaining to him, that every day he would find his difficulties encreaſed: the prince as conſtantly replied, 'That the more he ſuffered, the 'leſs he had to ſuffer.'

The king, who ſeemed to foreſee the conſequences of this paſſion, reſolved to break, by his authority, an attachment which he reproached himſelf with not having oppoſed in its birth. He deliberated with himſelf,

himſelf, whether he ſhould not have mademoiſelle Chouin confined in one of the provincial convents. Mademoiſelle Chouin had nothing for her but her virtue, and madame de Maintenon, who protected virtue wherever ſhe found it.

Lewis, too much accuſtomed to conſider himſelf as a king, who may do every thing, and not enough as the father of a family, whoſe will ought to be regulated by the laws, thought the ſovereign authority would be juſtly employed in reſtoring tranquillity to his family; it ſeemed to him very indifferent, whether a young woman was detained in a monaſtery or confined in a priſon, and that to diſpleaſe him, was to be ſufficiently guilty.

He was upon the point of giving this cruel and unjuſt order, when madame de Maintenon repreſented to him, that all the crimes of madame Chouin were to be beautiful, to be beloved, and to be virtuous; that if ſhe had yielded, ſhe would have been under the dauphin's protection; that having reſiſted, ſhe ought to be under his. 'When the people,' ſaid ſhe, 'hear that 'mademoiſelle Chouin is impriſoned, they will aſk 'how vice is to be treated, ſince ſuch eminent virtue 'is puniſhed thus ſeverely; ſuch violent remedies will 'encreaſe, not cure the diſeaſe: time, and the inflexible virtue of mademoiſelle Chouin, will effect more 'than all your authority; ſhe has none of that ambition, that love of grandeur, that taſte for pleaſure, 'which prevail upon women, to yield to the paſſions of 'princes, and induce them to feign a love for them.'

The king yielded to the force of theſe arguments, and left the dauphin to purſue his miſtreſs to every new retreat, and to all the agonies of his deſpair, at not being able to obtain a moment's converſation with her. Mademoiſelle Chouin received all his letters without opening one. At length curioſity prevailed over this rigid delicacy; ſhe read his letters, ſhe found them full of tenderneſs and reſpect; the torments ſo well deſcribed there, raiſed her compaſſion; the oaths ſo often repeated, without daring to demand, or expecting any thing from her in return, gained her belief; a ſentiment more tender than pity ſtole upon her heart,

heart, and increaſed in the ſilence of ſolitude, to which ſhe had condemned herſelf.

No woman can with impunity indulge thoughts of love. Unperceived by herſelf ſhe formed hopes and expectations; ſhe thought herſelf at leaſt equal to the prince, who was ſubjected to her; and, without gueſſing whither her deſtiny would lead her, ſhe perceived this affair muſt end gloriouſly for her.

Her ideas, at firſt confuſed and uncertain, grew clearer and more determined every day; ſure of being loved without frailty on her ſide, and with conſtancy on the ſide of the prince, the elevation of her mind, the dignity of her virtue, would not allow her to imagine that he intended to debaſe her by propoſals which mean deſires ſuggeſt, but which love condemns: however, ſhe would not venture to ſee him, that would have been to permit him to hope, and hope gave him a right to make attempts upon her virtue.

The dauphin at length gained admittance into her cloſet, through the treachery of her ſervant; he threw himſelf at her feet, he conjured her to liſten to him a moment, and left her miſtreſs of his fate. Mademoiſelle Chouin beheld the heir of the throne at her feet, without ſhewing any concern for his humiliation, or any joy at her own power, and ſaid only theſe few words to him: 'My lord, if it be true that you love 'me, you have but one word to ſay to me, and I 'have but one to hear; but this word you have nei-'ther liberty to utter nor I to hear, till we have the 'king's conſent.' She then intreated him to leave her, with the ſame tone that ſhe would have commanded him.

The prince, reflecting upon this anſwer, the only one he had ever yet been able to obtain from her, found in it more ambition than love: but he ſoon perſuaded himſelf, that virtue had no other language; love he thought had elevated the ſoul of his miſtreſs; and perhaps he believed that the nobleſt efforts of his paſſion, was to guard againſt ſeduction, at the hazard of being thought ungrateful. He placed his higheſt happineſs in being united to mademoiſelle Chou-

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in; and doubtleſs he flattered himſelf, that this union was, from the ſame ſentiments, as ardently deſired by her. Great as he was by birth, his miſtreſs was in his eyes, greater by her virtue; the more he reflected upon her words, the leſs he was ſurpriſed, that ſhe ſhould aſpire to what he would have already offered, if he had been free; to what, reſtrained as he was, he was going to offer. But how ſhould he obtain the king's conſent ſo plainly required; to aſk it was imprudent, and not to aſk it was criminal.

He told mademoiſelle Chouin, that the king had granted him every thing that was deſired: all difficulties were now removed. She believed, or feigned to believe him. She was afterwards blamed for not requiring a greater ſecurity; but that fear, ſo natural to perſons in her ſituation, of ruining all by delay, the neceſſity of breaking with the dauphin, if ſhe examined too nicely into the truth of what he told her; the pleaſure which on ſuch occaſions, we have in being deceived, that inclination to deceive one's ſelf; the hope that if the king was not already informed of it, he would, when all was over, be eaſily prevailed upon to pardon it, the certainty of being protected by the dauphin, who was going to unite his deſtiny to her's, all concurred to juſtify her credulity, or to excuſe her diſſimulation.

The marriage was ſolemnized, according to ſome at Meudon, to others at Livri. It is ſaid that madame de Maintenon and the biſhop of Meaux approved of it, but this is very improbable. Madame de Maintenon would not have thought herſelf diſpenſed with from informing the king of the dauphin's deſign, who would certainly have oppoſed it; and the biſhop of Meaux could not be ignorant, that a dauphin of France is never at liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf. Madame de Epinoy was let into the ſecret, and offered her houſe to mademoiſelle de Chouin, who was a heroine in her eyes before ſhe married the dauphin, and a mere woman afterwards.

Madame de Chouin, however, required more regularity in the conduct of her huſband, more order in his

houſhold, leſs confidenee in his domeſticks; and prevailed upon him to retrench the ſuperfluities of his table, which had always been ſerved with an exceſs of delicacy. She flattered herſelf, that by reforming him, ſhe ſhould procure his pardon of the king, for a marriage ſo diſproportionate. Never man was ſo ſuddenly or ſo compleatly reformed. The dauphin became benevolent, frugal, and devout; the king bleſſed heaven for this unhoped-for change, attributed it to mademoiſelle de Chouin, and could not believe that his ſon's connexion with her was either criminal or lawful.

After the new-married pair had diſpoſed the king to tolerate their union, they reſolved to free themſelves from that anxiety which interrupted their happineſs, by telling him what they might now confeſs without ſhame, but could not conceal without danger. However, the dauphin would not venture to tell him his whole ſecret; either through prudence or timidity; he choſe rather to aſk his conſent to a marriage that was not yet completed, than his pardon for having completed it without his knowledge.

In one of thoſe converſations, when the king's eaſy familiarity baniſhed that reſtraint, which the dauphin's extreme reſpect for him laid him under, he aſſumed courage enough to open his whole heart to his father. He told him, that he loved a perſon who alone could make him happy, whoſe diſpoſition he knew, whoſe virtue he had tried; that, on this occaſion, the dictates of his conſcience were the ſame with the impulſes of his love, and both agreed with his inclination for a retired and irreproachable life; but that he could not purſue this deſign, till it was approved by paternal authority.

Perceiving that he was liſtened to without ſurpriſe or reſentment, he added, that, without making any extraordinary effort over himſelf, he could deſpiſe that unreaſonable prejudice which condemns princes to love none but princeſſes; that he had not been happy with a dauphineſs; that his miſtreſſes had debaſed him; that in mademoiſelle de Chouin he found every thing except

except birth; but that he would rely with confidence upon the will of a father, who was well acquainted with all the force, the delicacy, and generosity of love, and knew how necessary it was for the great to have a companion, who, through gratitude, will at once share their pains and pleasures.

The king entering his closet, said, 'Son, consider 'well of this affair, and speak to me of it no more.' Words full of wisdom and tenderness, which did not hinder him from cancelling the marriage, if the good of the state, or the honour of the royal family required it; and, without wounding his authority, permitted the dauphin to conclude it, while they left him no hope of ever making it publick.

It is with pleasure that I relate these little anecdotes; we love to know that the masters of the world feel, act, and think like men. By such examples, kings are taught to act like philosophers; a neighbouring nation has seen the daughter of its king marry a subject, without thinking the princess debased, or the subject too much honoured by this alliance: such marriages are no where else thought surprising, but amongst us.

While the dauphin was happy in the possession of the wife he loved, the publick were marrying him every day: they said, that the queen of Spain waited only for the death of her husband to become wholly French; and that in reward for the throne, which she secured by her cabals to the dauphin, the dauphin had promised her his hand; that the countess of Berlips had been gained over; that the marquis of Harcourt had first laid this scheme, hence the emperor's refusal to give the arch-duke the government of Milan, and a thousand other circumstances decisive, for those who admit as a fact, what they explain by others that have often no connexion with it.

This marriage, though a secret to the public, was known by the courtiers. The dauphin passed his days at the hôtel of madame d'Epinoy, and mademoiselle de Chouin spent whole months at Meudon,

where all obeyed her. When the dutcheſs of Burgundy was informed of this news, ſhe ſaid, 'What fine alliances this family makes!' ſhe was doubtleſs ignorant of the hiſtory of her own. Upon a recovery from a dangerous illneſs, ſhe ſaid to the duke of Burgundy, 'If I had died, would you have made the third volume of your family?'

Madame de Maintenon expreſſed no diſlike of this marriage; it juſtified her own; it confirmed her rank. Whether the dauphin, after the king's death, was influenced by good or bad councils, he could never make it a crime in her to have prevailed upon his father to have entered into an engagement which he had imitated himſelf. Her humility would be a reproach to mademoiſelle de Chouin, if ſhe was raiſed to a higher rank; and a model, if ſhe remained in obſcurity. Nothing could have more effectually excluded madame de Maintenon from the throne; if ſhe had aſpired to it, ſhe certainly would have prevented this marriage.

She had the moſt ſincere eſteem for mademoiſelle Chouin; but whether it was that ſhe was ſecure of not diſpleaſing the dauphin, or that ſhe thought the dignity of her ſtation obliged her to depend upon the king alone, without hoping or fearing from any other; her connexions with mademoiſelle de Chouin, were abſolutely ſecret. She never ſaw her in publick, nor paid her any of theſe honours which would have put the whole court at her feet, and ſpared at leaſt the princes of the blood that kind of affront. This conduct does not ſeem of a piece with her general character; but it was neceſſary at firſt, while the marriage was yet uncertain, or ought to appear ſo.

The report of mademoiſelle de Chouin's being with child, greatly perplexed the king, who was unwilling to make his ſon uneaſy, or to give other brothers to the duke of Burgundy. By ſome, this report is believed to be falſe; by others, we are aſſured that ſhe was privately brought to-bed. Madame de Maintenon, who had no open connexion with her, while children

were

were expected, did not think it neceſſary to alter her conduct when that fear was removed.

Madame d' Epinoy informed her of all that paſt at Meudon, and all that paſt there gave her a high idea of mademoiſelle de Chouin; the king at length went to Meudon every year; and madame de Maintenon had an apartment there. Mademoiſelle de Chouin never appeared, but regulated all the amuſements; ſhe was inſenſible to honours; ſhe did not deſire any rank; ſhe was ſatisfied with her own eſteem.

When mademoiſelle d' Oſmond married, madame de Maintenon, among other inſtructions which ſhe gave her, added, 'When the king is dead, you will 'poſſibly ſee mademoiſelle de Chouin very powerful 'at court; but whether ſhe has a high rank there, or 'whether ſhe diſdains to have it, always treat her with 'the greateſt reſpect.'

Madame de Glapion, ſuperior of Saint-Cyr, ſuppoſing her to be the dauphin's miſtreſs, aſked madame de Maintenon, why that girl was not baniſhed from the court! 'That girl!' replied madame de Maintenon, 'we are happy in having her; ſhe behaves with great 'prudence; ſhe is of great uſe to us: it is to her we 'owe the dauphin's reformation, and the advantageous 'light he now appears in to his father, and to the 'whole kingdom.'

After this marriage, the father and the ſon became every day more firmly united. The king was continually giving him new marks of his eſteem and friendſhip; he ordered that the dauphin's warrants ſhould be paid at the treaſury, in the ſame manner as his own, by which he aſſociated him in the higheſt privilege of ſupreme power. The king, after acquainting the dauphin with the grant he had made him, ſaid to madame de Maintenon, 'You will now, madam, confeſs, 'that I know how to make valuable preſents;' 'and 'you, ſire,' replied ſhe, 'will acknowledge, that 'the dauphin is incapable of abuſing them.' The dauphin fulfilled this preſage. His prodigality was repreſſed by mademoiſelle de Chouin, who attained to the glory of an accompliſhed wife, if it

be true, that it conſiſt in being forgot, and almoſt unknown.

CHAPTER XII.

Domeſtick Diſquiets.

IT was to that kind of glory that madame de Maintenon would have aſpired; but it was not compatible with her ſituation, and this oppoſition between her love of freedom, and the conſtraint ſhe was ſubjected to by her ſtation, gave riſe to all her uneaſineſs. In vain ſhe endeavoured to unite happineſs and grandeur; they are ſeldom to be found together. It was her buſineſs to chaſe away languor from a king, whoſe paſſions were all blunted; who had no longer any taſte to gratify, nor any inclination to ſooth.

Lewis the Fourteenth, who amongſt us appeared the firſt of mortals, had great talents from nature; he knew mankind; he was capable of infinite application, and had acquired ſo much experience, that he was always the ableſt man in his council; but his underſtanding had not been improved, and like all other princes, whoſe education is neglected, there was a vacuity in his mind, which made it impoſſible for him to be alone a moment. He no longer ſought pleaſure, or if he did, he found it only in freedom from pain; a continual uneaſineſs made him ever varying his occupation and his place; he had little imagination; he had acquired no ideas by reading, therefore his converſation was barren and dry; he talked only of what he had ſeen himſelf; and a monarch, whoſe thoughts are wholly engroſſed by ambition, who is fatigued by buſineſs, and inacceſſible through ſtate, can ſee but very little.

Hunting was his favourite diverſion; but when he returned into himſelf, he found the ſame laſſitude of ſoul as body. In private he offered nothing to his friends and confidants, but a heart worn out with pleaſures, a capricious temper, a mind lethargick, or filled with ſtate-affairs, ſtill deſirous, but incapable of amuſement,

amuſement, ſolliciting joy, which always flies from thoſe that invoke its preſence.

Such was the prince whoſe mind madame de Maintenon muſt awaken to ſenſibility, whoſe attention ſhe muſt engage by new efforts of imagination: a prince, who had either all Europe, or nothing in his head; whoſe paſſions had been unfixed, and whoſe taſtes were ever varying; who had loved the dutcheſs of Orleans, and diſdained la Valliere; who had doted on la Valliere, and deſpiſed Monteſpan; who had adored Monteſpan, and hated Maintenon; that Maintenon, whom afterwards he almoſt raiſed to the throne.

All the reſpect and tenderneſs with which he treated her, could not indemnify her for the ſlavery to which ſhe was condemned; the oppoſition ſhe was obliged to endure; the perfidy to which ſhe was a witneſs; the cenſures ſhe incurred; nor even for that adulation formerly ſo pleaſing to her vanity, but deteſted ever ſince God had centered all her thoughts within himſelf.

The king, ſeeing her one day melancholy and reſerved, ſaid, 'What! madam, are you ſad?' From that time he never ſurpriſed her in any dejection of ſpirits. Before him ſhe always appeared with an air of gaiety and ſatisfaction. 'My ſole ambition,' ſaid ſhe, 'is to bring the king to God; he has an averſion to 'melancholy; if he did not always ſee me eaſy and 'ſerene, he would hate devotion.' As ſoon as the king went out of her apartment, ſhe would throw herſelf upon her bed, and give free courſe to her ſighs and tears.

'I have ſometimes ſeen her,' ſays mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'when languid with ſickneſs, ſinking thro' 'fatigue, and oppreſſed with uneaſineſs, recal her 'ſcattered ſpirits, aſſume an air of gaiety, and entertain 'the king alone for four hours ſucceſſively, without 'repetition or ſcandal. When his majeſty went out 'of her chamber, at ten o'clock at night, and her women had drawn the curtains of her bed, ſhe 'would ſay to me, ſighing, I have but juſt ſtrength

'enough to tell you, that I can hold it no longer. 'After ſhe had been refuſed ſome trifling favour, 'which ſhe had ſollicited for one of her relations, ſhe 'ſaid to me,

'*If I would take the trouble to ſhew a little reſent-* '*ment, I ſhould obtain every thing I deſire; but it is my* '*part to ſuffer in ſilence. The king is extremely complai-* '*ſant; he tells me every day, that all I have to do is to* '*make my demands; but our princes know not how to* '*confer voluntary favours.*'

'I have ſometimes ſeen her,' adds mademoiſelle d'-Aumale, 'ſo oppreſſed with uneaſineſs, that ſhe has 'been ready to quit the court. *Oh! that I could leave* '*this place,*' ſhe cried, '*but I am no longer miſtreſs of* '*my own actions; why, Oh! my God, why haſt thou* '*bound me to it?*'

Often when alone in her cloſet with me, ſhe would with tears and ſighs exclaim, '*How tyrannical are* '*men? they are not capable of the delicacy of friendſhip:* '*the king is good among the beſt; but there is ſomething* '*to ſuffer from them all, and doubtleſs God permits my* '*ſufferings, to wean my mind from the world, which* '*would be too much attached to it, by the adoration that* '*is paid me, or rather to the rank I fill, if I had not* '*ſome uneaſineſs to ſuffer: none but thoſe, who live like* '*me, can know how hard it is to live.*'

It was neceſſary indeed to live with her, to know exactly from whence theſe cares, and all this repining proceeded; her's were not imaginary ills. Although ſhe often laboured under dejection of ſpirits, ſhe was incapable of nouriſhing melancholy thoughts. She was not preſſed by neceſſity; ſhe was ſo diſintereſted, that the king had not many deſires to prevent; ſhe was not offended by continual oppoſition; for the miniſters had ſcarce any other will but her's, and the king gave them an example of unbounded reſpect to her. 'She 'is a ſaint;' ſaid he ſometimes, 'every perfection is 'her's; for ſtrength of mind and ſolid judgment, few 'men can equal her.'

Mademoiſelle d'Aumale is ſilent with regard to the ſubject

ſubject of her uneaſineſs: however, no perſon knew it better than ſhe; ſhe ſcarce ever quitted her, ſhe partook of all her amuſements; ſhe ſhared in all her griefs; ſhe was pious, active, tender, and ſincere. The diſtinguiſhing regard ſhewn her by madame de Maintenon, drew her the homage of the whole court, which ſhe rejected with a greatneſs of mind, that indeared her to the friend, whoſe eſteem and affection ſhe only ſought to cultivate.

Probably madame de Maintenon, who aſpired to a perfect purity of manners, hated thoſe evenings in which her duty obliged her to compliances her inclination was averſe to; compliances indifferent in themſelves, but which the ſeverity of devotion abhors, as violations of modeſty, or only tolerates in compaſſion to human frailty, although when lawful, they are more holy than the ſtricteſt celibacy.

The king uſed to enter her apartment at nine o'clock at night. She was already in bed, all her ſervants were diſmiſſed, the king went ſoftly, and with the utmoſt caution to bolt the door; and at ten o'clock unbolted it with the ſame myſtery. Such conceſſions muſt doubtleſs be very mortifying to a woman, who was as much raiſed above paſſion, as the vanity of inſpiring it, who, inſtead of adorning her perſon, carried about thoſe inſtruments of penitence, armed with points of ſteel, invented in all religions by ferocious monks, by fervent piety approved, but by enlightened piety, perhaps condemned.

As the king advanced in years, madame de Maintenon's ſituation became more diſagreeable; he no longer ſaw his miniſters but through habit; his gardens through ſome remains of taſte; and madame de Maintenon, becauſe ſhe was ſtill eſteemed by him. His frequent and long protracted viſits to her, continually ſhewed her the value of that freedom which ſhe ſo little knew, while it was in her power to have enjoyed it, and which ſhe regretted, as ſoon as ſhe had loſt it. She loved ſociety, and ſhe was condemned to a barren converſation; ſhe panted after freedom, and ſhe lived in ſlavery; ſhe hated ſplendour, and ſhe was ſurround-

ed with it: ſhe was ſo frank, that the duke of Burgundy uſed to ſay, *ſhe is ſincere, and that is all*; yet ſhe was inceſſantly forced to diſſemble: ſhe might have been patient under her load of grandeur; but when the diſeaſe is in the blood, there is no removing it. 'I 'can hold it no longer,' ſaid ſhe one day to the count 'd'Aubigné her brother, 'I wiſh I were dead.' 'You have then a promiſe,' anſwered d'Aubigné,' 'to marry God the father.'

The king's temper, which was not free from caprice, was another ſource of uneaſineſs to her; he expected infinite attention, though he ſeemed to exact none: he was, like all men, harſh, inſolent, and tyrannical to their wives, incapable of that delicate tenderneſs which women ſo well know, treating like ſlaves, ſuch as by the firſt inſtitution of marriage, were deſigned for their companions: a huſband ſeldom makes a woman happy, a king and huſband never. 'No 'chains are eaſy,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'but 'thoſe we wear for God.'

In publick, the king concealed the inequality of his temper, while in private he indemnified himſelf for that painful reſtraint. Madame de Maintenon, as much miſtreſs of her mind as of her countenance, endeavoured to diſſipate theſe glooms by concerts of muſick, and by the charms of thoſe eaſy and ſprightly converſations, ſhe had been uſed to at the hôtel de Richelieu; but, tired of playing a part ſo uniform and reſtraining, from an exceſs of gaiety, ſhe would fall into a profound ſadneſs. 'What a puniſhment,' ſaid ſhe to the counteſs of Bolingbroke, 'to amuſe a 'man, who is no longer to be amuſed!'

Eager to relieve or ſuſpend her cares, ſhe employed her leiſure hours in forming the mind of a young negro, who had been given her by the marquis de Villette. She took pleaſure in ſtudying nature in this ſimple child, ſo cramped and ſo biaſſed in us, who are born with prejudices. One day when ſhe deſired him to divert the queen of England; 'I cannot,' he replied, 'all theſe queens make me dull.'

The king having anſwered one of his queſtions, with

with ſome words that ſignified nothing, the little negro ſaid to him, 'And thou alſo wilt be thought a 'fool, if thou ſpeakeſt fooliſhly.' Obſerving madame de Maintenon one day extremely melancholy, he threw himſelf on his knees before her, and in a whiſper ſaid, 'Doſt thou not know, that it is very eaſy to divert 'a king?' She was ſo ſtruck with this hint, that ſhe roſe ſuddenly from her ſeat, and repeated it to monſieur Jolly de Fleuri, who was preſent, and whom, ſhe was ſo abſorbed in thought, ſhe did not before perceive.

Some report that her ſpirits being quite exhauſted with the fatigue of amuſing the king, ſhe prevailed upon him to let her offer an apartment at Verſailles to mademoiſelle de l'Enclos: but this is a ridiculous tale; a devotee would certainly never deſire to aſſociate a libertine in her cares. They add, that mademoiſelle de l'Enclos replied, that ſhe thought it was now too late to learn the art of diſſimulation, or to bear the fatigue of continual reſtraint, which ſhe had never experienced, and all that could be obtained from her, was to be in the gallery of the chapel as the king paſſed by, who was curious to ſee once at leaſt this wonder of his reign.

It is upon this ſtory, that Voltaire has founded his dialogue between madame de Maintenon and mademoiſelle de l'Enclos, which is not the leſs inſipid, becauſe it is Voltaire's. In this dialogue, madame de Maintenon is made to propoſe to mademoiſelle de l'Enclos, the bartering, in appearance at leaſt, her prudery for the other's philoſophy; and all the reſt is in the ſame ſpirit. However, it is certainly true, that the devotees made an attempt to convert mademoiſelle de l'Enclos, who ſaid to monſieur de Fontenelle, 'You 'know what advantage I have made of my perſon, de'pend upon it I will ſell my ſoul ſtill better; the 'Jeſuiſts and the Janſeniſts are diſputing it.'

Madame de Maintenon was often made uneaſy, by the king's ſudden ſallies of ill humour. He would ſometimes, after he had aſked her advice on particular occaſions, interrupt her harſhly while ſhe was ſpeaking, with

with *why, madam, do you concern yourſelf in theſe affairs?* To-day the miniſters would blame what the biſhops had approved, to-morrow Lewis would impute the bad ſucceſs of any enterpriſe to the advice which had prevailed with him to undertake it. His underſtanding, great as it was, and his extreme application, were not ſufficient for that immediate inſpection of all parts of the adminiſtration, which he had reſerved to himſelf; and he was always apprehenſive, that ſomething of importance was concealed from him.

The confidence he had in madame de Maintenon, brought him always back to her; although his nice notions of honour often made him reject her councils, as imputing weakneſs to his own judgment. The great difference between the piety of the king and madame de Maintenon, occaſioned as great a difference in their ſentiments: both were devout; but madame de Maintenon had always been ſo, and Lewis was but a new convert. The former made devotion conſiſt in the love and practice of virtue, and the latter, in avoiding ill; they were both ſcrupulous, with regard to the moſt innocent pleaſures; the wife, through the ſeverity of her manners, the huſband through ignorance, which neceſſarily produced a kind of indifference in each.

Denials arbitrarily given, often wounded that heart too exquiſitely ſenſible, and too little ſoothed: the king hated her relations, and diſcovered this hatred in a very offenſive manner. Madame de Maintenon having ſollicited him for a trifling favour for one of them, 'No,' replied the king with ſome bitterneſs, 'it is 'for Janette;' The preſent madame d'Hauſſy, of the family of Penchrech in Britanny, whom madame de Maintenon reſcued, while in the cradel, from the extremeſt poverty. Theſe differences had no need of any explanation to terminate them; each generally gave way to the other: but tempers, however well ſuited, will often give and receive ſuch little diſguſts.

Madame de Maintenon had great ſenſibility of mind, but was always the yielding party; Lewis was capricious

ous and diſtruſtful, but incapable of long reſentment: in this particular, very different from his father, in whoſe caſkets were found memorandums of all the quarrels he had with his chaſte miſtreſſes.

The malice of the publick, though deſpiſed, could not be ſilent. Sometimes madame de Maintenon was repreſented between a cripple and a king, laughing at one, and ſnapping her fingers at the other; ſometimes Lewis was painted, looking through madame de Maintenon's ſpectacles, and guided by a thread, which was held by Pontchartrain. 'The king of France,' ſaid William the third, 'is different from all other kings, 'for he chuſes miniſters of eighteen years of age, and 'miſtreſſes of eighty.'

A ſonnet †, which is written with too much ſpirit, not to deſcend to poſterity, and too ſevere not to make a deep and laſting wound, was ſent to madame de Maintenon by the poſt, and the next day diſperſed all over Paris. It was attributed to count Anthony Hamilton, the moſt trifling, yet the moſt ſatirical of men; and who, in the laſt age, was the chief cauſe of wit's being hated, becauſe he abuſed it moſt. The count de Grammont his brother-in-law, endeavoured to juſtify him. 'You know,' ſaid madame de Maintenon to him, 'that from my youth, it has been my ardent wiſh 'to die in obſcurity.' That is true,' replied the count, 'but perſons of wit, like you and I, never die.'

Madame de Maintenon made no other uſe of this ſatire, than to place it by the panegyricks that were addreſſed to her every day: however, ſhe trembled continually, leſt theſe pieces ſhould reach the king, to whom they might give unfavourable impreſſions of her; although calumny, with which he had been often inſulted, had taught him to render others that juſtice which he expected from them.

After viewing this picture, who would envy the condition of the great: however, we muſt not believe that the life of madame de Maintenon was only a ſeries of cares.

† See the pieces juſtificative.

cares. In the ſpace of thirty years they occurred but too often; but although inceſſantly tormented by the extreme delicacy of her notions, and the ſenſibility of her own heart, ſhe had joys, ſhe had ſucceſs, and ſhe had pleaſure, ſhe had ſome happy days, and many which ſeemed to be happy by her own fortitude, or which became ſo by her virtue.

CHAPTER XIII.

Monſieur de Chamillard.

Sept. 25. 1699. THE changes which happened in the miniſtry, deprived her of all her remaining freedom and eaſe, by engaging her in the affairs of ſtate, the king being unable to ſuſtain the burthen of them alone. The council was formed of her creatures; Pontchartrain, who owed his place to her, owed that of chancellor to her likewiſe, which became vacant by the death of Boucherat; ſhe procured the place of ſecretary for the affairs of the marine, to be given to his ſon, and the ſuperintendancy of the finances to Chamillard.

The miniſtry of the emperor Leopold was only worſe compoſed. William III. who well knew the exhauſted condition of France, and the weakneſs of thoſe who who were placed at the head of affairs, uſed to ſay, that for the future, we ſhould neither know how to make peace or war; and that our cabinet would be no better than our army.

Chamillard, who was firſt counſellor of the parliament, then maſter of requeſts, afterwards counſellor of ſtate, and at length intruſted with the affairs of Saint-Cyr, declared, that he neither knew how to govern men, nor to adminiſter the finances. *I will teach you*, ſaid the king to him. This prince loved to be ſerved by men, who owed their elevation only to his will, and Chamillard muſt owe his abilities to him likewiſe.

In governments ſubjected to the laws, where the murmurs of a free people, warn men in power of their faults,

faults, the miniſter cannot act like a fool with impunity, the evil is as quickly repaired as done; but in a country where a ſecretary of ſtate is a petty king in his own department, where his clerks are tyrants in their office, and where they value themſelves upon deſpiſing the murmurs of the diſcontented, all is loſt if the miniſter be not the ableſt man in the kingdom.

Chamillard was only known to madame de Maintenon by his addreſs, in conciliating the differences of ſome private perſons, and to the king by his ſkill at billiards. Monſieur d'Armagnac had preſented him to Lewis, who was extremely fond of that game, but had conceived a diſguſt at it, becauſe he found no one capable of playing with him.

Chamillard, conſcious of his incapacity for the poſt of prime miniſter, intreated madame de Maintenon to direct his ſteps, in a place which ſhe knew ſo well. And here follow the principal heads of the inſtructions ſhe gave him, after having long endeavoured to avoid the taſk.

'You have now, monſieur, an employment in 'which you may do great good. If it be true, that 'I have in any manner contributed to your advance-'ment, the only acknowledgment I deſire of you, is 'to make uſe of your authority for the relief of the 'people. I know that you will be led to this by your 'own inclination: and I know alſo, that it will be 'the ſureſt way of recommending yourſelf to the 'king. His ſentiments are very different from what 'they were formerly; and if you ſhould now propoſe 'a new expence, however ſoothing to his pride, or 'even uſeful to the publick, he will be apprehenſive 'that you would the next day propoſe a new im-'poſt.

'Thoſe who are entruſted with the management of 'the finances, make no ſcruple of loading with new 'burdens the ſhoulders of the poor people; but theſe 'burdens they are exempted from themſelves, as like-'wiſe their relations and their friends; and the peo-'ple know this, they obſerve it, and they complain of 'it.

'Hence

'Hence aroſe that hatred to authority, which, in the 'time of cardinal Mazarine, produced ſuch dreadful 'effects: this was not indeed the only cauſe of the re-'bellion, but it was the taxes which kindled the fire. 'Moderation on the contrary, will make the ſubjects 'ſollicitous for the good of the ſtate: you know what 'joy Paris and the provinces diſcovered, when the 'poll-tax was taken off, which had been borne with-'out murmuring, becauſe it had not been levied with-'out cauſe.

'Perſons in your place always alledge, that the miſ-'fortunes of the times, and the ſtate of the king's re-'venues, make it neceſſary that new impoſts ſhould be 'eſtabliſhed, to provide for daily occaſions, and the 'payments of debts. Ever ſince I have been in the 'world (and that is many, very many years) I have 'continually heard of theſe misfortunes of the times; 'and I believe, that by repreſenting them greater than 'they are, they have been made as great as we find 'them at preſent.

'Inſtead of having recourſe to a wiſe and prudent 'œconomy, edicts have been granted for levying taxes; 'the more money there has been raiſed, the greater 'has been the expence; and when any garden was to 'be embelliſhed, or any ſquare to be built, we heard 'no more of the misfortunes of the times.

'It is but too certain, that we live at preſent in very 'deplorable times; and that the kingdom is actually 'loaded with debts. Hitherto no meaſures have been 'taken for the payment of them: but if by the con-'tinuance of the peace we are enabled to enter ſeri-'ouſly upon this work, I believe we muſt do it by de-'grees. It is the ſtate which is indebted to the ſtate; 'it is the king, that is to ſay, the party who has no-'thing, who is indebted to the richeſt party. It 'is upon the people principally, that is to ſay, upon 'the party that has but bare neceſſaries, that we muſt 'levy the money we have occaſion for, to clear the 'king.

'You

'You, ſee, monſieur, that, in this great work, you 'muſt proceed by ſlow and imperceptible degrees; and 'that it is not poſſible to find any ſudden method of 'paying the rich, without involving the king in new 'debts, and without impoveriſhing the people. It is 'an old diſeaſe which requires ſlow and gentle reme-'dies: the king is the father of France, and the 'comptroller-general of the finances is the phyſici-'an.

'Frugality will produce more money than new im-'poſts: the king is diſpoſed to this method; he ac-'knowledges that there are great retrenchments to be 'made; he is convinced that the grandeur of a king 'of France cannot be leſſened by the diminution of 'his officers; that penſions are multiplied to exceſs; 'and that it is better to give a little to his favourites, 'than to exact a great deal from his people.

'Although theſe propoſals ſhould come from you, 'eſpecially in the former preſſing caſes, they will not 'be ill received: the king is now aſhamed of the mag-'nificence that formerly prevailed in his court; your 'predeceſſors durſt not venture to adviſe the re-'trenchment of expences, which they ſaid were neceſ-'ſary to ſupport the dignity of the throne, becauſe 'they were afraid of the murmurs of the courtiers, and 'deſpiſed the complaints of provinces, too diſtant to 'be well underſtood. The king is convinced of this 'truth; and when he is told that no perſon com-'plains, he is then moſt ſure that complaints are 'made.

'You muſt make choice of a ſeaſonable time for 'theſe new regulations of expence; the king will rea-'dily agree to them, when he finds that taxes are 'kept for the laſt reſource: it is indeed certain, that 'his majeſty is not willing to give cauſe for murmur-'ing, to thoſe who have the honour of being his do-'meſticks, but he will not balance a moment be-'tween them and his people.

'You, monſieur, know enough of his temper, to be 'ſenſible that he does not love oppoſition; but he will

'rather

'rather endure to be oppoſed a hundred times, than 'ſuffer the commiſſion of one act of injuſtice. If you 'do not act openly with him, he will perceive it and 'be ſilent: he will not ſhew his reſentment, becauſe he 'is maſter of himſelf, but the leſs he ſhews it, the 'ſtronger it will be. Although monſieur de Louvois 'had deceived him but once, he would have been ir-'revocably ruined; the king loves to be obeyed, but 'he loves to be dealt ſincerely with.

'The rectitude of his own mind, makes him very 'ſevere againſt the avarice of others; he is ſo far from 'permitting his miniſters to enrich themſelves by un-'juſtifiable means, that he will not ſuffer them to amaſs 'wealth by the moſt lawful ways: he expects that 'they ſhall be attentive only to his ſervice, and in the 'end they will loſe nothing by it. I have ſome where 'read, that a Spaniſh miniſter died without leaving 'money ſufficient to defray the expences of his burial. 'In France ſuch extreme diſintereſtedneſs is not re-'quired: however, in my opinion, a prime miniſter 'ought to conſider himſelf, and be conſidered by o-'thers, as wholly devoted to the publick good.

'You, monſieur, have very great ſalaries and great 'perquiſites; I believe it will be very agreeable to the 'king, if you would not make uſe of the latter, and in 'times like theſe, it is very difficult to have money 'paſs through one's hand's, without being ſoiled with 'the touch; and in your employment diſintereſtedneſs 'is a virtue ſo much the greater, as it is practiſed with 'the moſt difficulty, on account of the frequent temp-'tations, and the ſeldomeſt found. If you can ſub-'mit to be poor, you will be adored by the poor, re-'verenced by the rich, and eſteemed by the great. 'You know what was laid to the charge of monſieur 'P——.

'Your reputation, monſieur, is at preſent very 'high: I conjure you to ſupport it. You will in vain 'regulate your actions by the ſtricteſt honour, if your 'relations, your friends, and your ſervants are venal. 'The arts of bribery are not long concealed from the

'publick:

'publick: there are too many perſons who are intereſted in diſcovering them; the blame will always fall upon him who has the power of preventing and of puniſhing them. If he puniſhes them late, he will be ſuſpected of having, contrary to his inclinations, ſacrificed his creatures to his own reputation: and this ſuſpicion will be often juſt; for, during five and twenty years that I have lived in the court, I have obſerved that men in power are generally what the publick, malignant as it is, imagine them to be.

'There is a manner of corruption leſs odious than the other, but equally ſuſpected by the king. It is, in the facility with which miniſters yield to recommendations; the great ſell their intereſt to their dependants: and hence ariſe abuſes of every kind, and ſhameful bargains for favours, which are at firſt concluded privately, and afterwards carried on with a moſt licentious freedom.

'This the king calls bargaining for the blood of his people; and you will acquire his confidence, if you apply a remedy to this growing evil. To effect this, all that is neceſſary at firſt is to preſerve your own integrity, and to act with firmneſs; the ladies moſt openly countenance dependence. It would be well if you would reſolve to be deaf to all theſe ſollicitations: I do not deſire that you would accept even mine; once for all, I intreat that you will refuſe me, when your compliance would be diſadvantageous.

'I have given away a great many employments, and perhaps too many. I will never demand any new ones of you: and as for the old, I ſhall be very glad if they are continued to my friends; and I ſhall be no leſs ſo if they are not, becauſe I ſhall conclude you have filled theſe employments better than I had done. You will accuſtom the ladies and the courtiers to your refuſals, by uſing no ceremony with me on ſuch occaſions; and I will teach them how to receive ſuch refuſals.

'The

'The inequality of thoſe aſſeſſments, which are 'laid upon the clergy, has always given great uneaſineſs to the king; he will with pleaſure ſee you labour to remove the complaints of the poor eccleſiaſticks, and to ſilence the railleries of libertines, who, 'that they may the more ſucceſsfully attack religion, 'make uſe, as the ſaying is, *of arrows of every kind of wood.* This abuſe may, without violent methods, 'be reformed, at the approaching aſſembly, by conferring with ſome of our biſhops; the archbiſhop of 'Paris will aſſiſt you, and he has great influence upon 'the wiſeſt part of his order.

'I think you ought neither to unite, or appear to 'be united with monſieur de Torcy or monſieur de 'Barbezeux. The king is not fond of diviſions amongſt 'his ſervants: but theſe ſtrict connexions are always 'ſuſpected by him. You will ſeldom have any occaſion to conſult theſe miniſters. I would adviſe you to 'give them no umbrage, live with them without confidence, without dependence, without ſolliciting their 'friendſhip, or ſhunning their kindneſs.

'The advice of the duke de Beauvilliers cannot be 'diſadvantageous to you. He has great rectitude of 'mind; he has an unfeigned affection for the ſtate, 'and abhors all violent meaſures. Although the king 'expreſſes leſs friendſhip for him than uſual, he ſtill highly eſteems him; but the duke de Beauvilliers has 'very dangerous friends.

'The publick have long complained of a kind of 'confederacy, between the comptroller-general and the 'farmers of the revenue, to ruin the kingdom; it is 'certain that the comptroller-general favours them 'too often, and that they engage him in falſe ſteps by 'the extraordinary ſupplies which they furniſh him with 'on occaſion. The farmers of the revenue muſt not 'be diſobliged, ſince, in our preſent circumſtances, 'they are a great reſource for the ſtate; but they ought 'not to have undue privileges, becauſe they advance 'money.

'Theſe men are not to be depended upon; they 'are the droſs of the nation; their very virtues are

'intereſt-

'interested; and they are only happy by the publick 'calamity; they will always sell you their acknow-'ledgments at a high rate; they are devouring wolves, 'who would swallow up the whole kingdom, if it 'was abandoned to their avarice. At Paris the mag-'nificence of their living is greatly extolled, which 'circulates so much money among tradesmen; but in 'the provinces their oppressions are justly complained 'of; it is therefore proper to have an eye upon their 'conduct, and to receive any petitions that may be ad-'dressed to you against them.

'I say to you, monsieur, without order and without 'connexion, whatever comes into my mind, which I 'think may be useful to you and pleasing to the king. 'I shall not recommend to your notice the infamous 'traffick carried on with the warrants at the royal trea-'sury. I have perceived in you an inclination to re-'dress those grievances; it is shameful, to say no 'worse, that the poor only should be ill paid. By this 'practice the king is made a robber of those very per-'sons to whom he is a benefactor.

'Monsieur de Rouellé and even monsieur Desmarets 'may possibly be useful to you. Ministers, who have 'a natural aversion to their successor, seldom place any 'confidence in a man who is worthy to fill their 'place: this jealousy of the abilities of another, is 'very prejudicial to the king's service. I am well con-'vinced that you will have only men of merit about 'you.

'When you first enter upon your office, it is necessa-'ry that you should see and hear every thing yourself; 'do not be apprehensive that the king will be offend-'ed with you for asking and following good advice; 'to perform your duty in its utmost extent, is the 'only thing that is of importance to you. Whether 'good be done by the motions of our own mind or the 'suggestions of another, it matters not, provided it be 'done.

'I have often heard monsieur Colbert say, *that the 'French, if permitted, would change the rocks into gold.* 'You have therefore, monsieur, a great treasure in the

'industry

'induſtry of the nation: you will not want for able 'men who will point out to you the means of making 'an advantage of this induſtry; and the peace, which 'the king has lately concluded, will ſecure that plan 'of adminiſtration which you ſhall chuſe to follow, 'from that fatal oppoſition your predeceſſors always 'found.

'This, monſieur, is all the advice that is proper 'for a woman to give, and perhaps more than you 'requeſted from me; your repeated importunities firſt 'ſubdued my timidity, and my zeal for the king's 'ſervice has carried me farther than I intended.

'As to the title of *monſeigneur*, it is my opinion that 'you ought not to inſiſt upon it from any perſon; 'refuſe it from perſons of quality, but admit of it 'from the farmers and all who are concerned in the 'revenue.'

No man had more need of theſe counſels than Chamillard: counſels which politicians will conſider as trifles, but will be always neceſſary to miniſters. However, no man profited leſs by them than he did; he augmented the impoſts; he multiplied paper money; he ſtopped that circulation of ſpecie and periſhable commodities which is the life of the body politick; he had recourſe to ſhifts and expedients which would have ſeemed aſtoniſhing in the moſt extravagant ſpendthrift. In his audiences, when expoſed to all eyes, he endeavoured to conceal his incapacity by his preſumption. A certain perſon complaining to him of the injuſtice he had been treated with, he inſolently replied, 'Be gone; the king does not give his ſubjects an ac'count of his actions, and I repreſent the king.'

He forbid the financers to purchaſe any thing, and he ſold all himſelf; his daughters concluded theſe ſhameful bargains; and foreign courts, of which we were maſters by corruption, endeavoured to carry on the ſame traffick in our's. Theſe ladies, who were publickly the brokers of the ſtate, ſold to the pope's nuncio, for four thouſand francs, leave to carry fifteen thouſand firelocks out of the kingdom, which the king had expreſly

preſſy forbidden. The pope ſhewed the letter of advice which he had received to the abbé du Polignac, auditeur of the Rota, who had no anſwer to make to theſe words of the pope, 'Truly your maſter is very 'ill ſerved.'

His miniſtry for ſome time glided on in a calm; but, in proportion as his favour with the king increaſed, he acquired the vices of power. He was neither harſh nor cruel, he was only weak; but all tyrants are ſo, and France was oppreſſed and almoſt ruined by the beſt man in the world *.

Jan. 5. 1701.] Barbezeux died ſuddenly; his uncle the archbiſhop of Rheims received his laſt ſighs, and ſpoke to him often of his will, but very little of his conſcience. When he ſaw him expire, he went into his cloſet, filled his pocket with jewels, looked over his papers, took one, and returning into the chamber where his nephew lay dead, 'Parbleu,' ſaid he, 'here 'is a pleaſant thing written in Barbezeux's hand, *In my 'thirty third year I ſhall be ſeized with an illneſs, from 'which I ſhall not recover.*' This miniſter, who inherited his father's credulous belief in judicial aſtrology, often conſulted father Alexis, a franciſcan friar, who, upon the knowledge of his debauched life, had hazarded this prediction †.

His poſt was given to Chamillard, who, knowing by experience that the prince's choice cannot give abilities, refuſed it with all the modeſt diffidence of a man who was worthy of it; but the king ſilenced all his ſcruples by ſaying, *I will aſſiſt you.*

Thus this man, who was wholly ignorant of the affairs of the army or of the finances, was placed at the head of both: employments for which the extreme application of Colbert and the great abilities of Louvois were ſcarce ſufficient. But why, it will be aſked, did the king unite them in his perſon? I anſwer for the moſt trifling reaſons imaginable. He was apprehenſive that

* See his Eulogium in the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth.

† The biſhop of Agen's MSS.

that, if ſeparated, they would be exerciſed by two men envious of each other's abilities, and jealous of each other's power. He was accuſtomed to Chamillard; he believed him laborious, and he knew him to be humble; he hoped to form him for the miniſtry; he flattered himſelf that by doing buſineſs with him alone, he ſhould leſſen the labour by one half; he depended upon eſtabliſhing between his generals and his miniſters ſo much harmony as would put him in a condition to command his cabinet and his armies, without oppoſition, without uneaſineſs, and with that celerity he was ſo fond of.

Neither theſe great places, nor the leſſons of the moſt magnanimous prince in the world, could elevate the ſoul of Chamillard; he was born for obſcurity, and he lived deſpiſed. No miniſter could ſhew leſs abilities than he, who being maſter of all the money and all the forces of the kingdom, could never reach the authority of a prime miniſter. He plunged France into thoſe misfortunes which I ſhall relate in order, after I have given an account of the death of ſome great perſons, who made a conſiderable figure in the former part of theſe memoirs, but who have no concern in the enſuing. Theſe deaths, which happened at different periods of time, I ſhall comprize in the following chapter, being perſuaded that mere memoirs are not ſubjected to chronological order.

CHAPTER XIV.

The deaths of the duke of Orleans; of the count de Aubigné; and of the marchioneſs de Monteſpan.

MAdame de Maintenon had undertaken to convert the duke of Orleans, and flattered herſelf with ſucceſs. Father de la Bourdonnaye, his confeſſor, threatened to quit him, if he did not change his manner of life. This ſeverity awakened his remorſe; he deplored the irregularities of his own conduct, and repreſſed the vices of his ſon; he reſolved to retire from court, to found hoſpitals, and to employ himſelf wholly

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in the care of his ſalvation: death ſurpriſed him in the midſt of theſe ſchemes.

June 9. 1701.] He had been troubled for ſome days with a bleeding in his noſe; but concealed this diſorder from his phyſicians, through his averſion to being bled in the arm; he went to Marli, and while he waited for the king's coming out from his council, he ſat down by madame de Maintenon, who, obſerving him to be melancholy and penſive, aſked him, 'If any thing troubled him?' 'Yes,' anſwered the prince with a ſigh. 'May I know what it is?' he anſwered. 'This devil of a jubilee,' ſaid the prince, 'has raiſed terrible reflections in my mind.' 'They 'muſt be cultivated,' reſumed madame de Maintenon, 'they are the warnings of grace.' 'I have 'committed ſo many ſins,' replied the prince, 'that, 'by my faith, I do not know how to repair them.' 'God is juſt, ſaid madame de Maintenon; but he is 'merciful.' Parbleu,' added the prince, 'if I was not 'married I would retire from the court; one damns 'one's ſelf there imperceptibly. 'It is not retirement 'that God requires of you,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'it is your part to edify the world, not to bury 'yourſelf in a cloiſter; have you regulated your con-'ſcience?' 'Yes,' anſwered the prince, 'I have done 'my beſt; but do you think it is ſufficient to ſin no 'more?'

This converſation was interrupted by the king's coming out of his cloſet; they placed themſelves at table; dinner was ſerved, when the duke of Orleans, being ſeized with a bleeding in the noſe, alarmed all the company.

Fagon, whoſe long experience had given him a right to ſpeak to princes with a ſalutary harſhneſs, ſaid to him, 'My lord, you are threatened with an apoplexy, and you ought to be bled inſtantly.' The king endeavoured to perſuade his brother to ſubmit to this operation, but not being able to prevail with him, he ſaid, 'You will ſee what your obſtinacy will coſt us: 'we ſhall be wakened one night or other, to be told 'that you are dead.'

The duke of Orleans withdrew, upon pretence of going into the bath; but he went to Saint Cloud, where he ſupped with great gaiety. Towards the end of the repaſt, he deſired madame de Ventadour to give him a glaſs of a certain liquor which the duke of Savoy had ſent him. Madame de Ventadour, turning towards him to preſent the glaſs, ſaw his eyes roll convulſively; and, in the ſame inſtant, he fell back in his chair without ſenſe or motion: Meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched to Marli; the king arrived, but the duke of Orleans was already dead.

He was ſincerely lamented: the king loved him tenderly; their inclinations, although very different, had not produced that averſion between them which all the hiſtorians have ſuſpected: this ſuſpicion is founded upon the duke's being excluded from the council, and from the command of the army. He had, by his imprudence, rendered it dangerous to truſt him with affairs of ſtate; and this the king made him ſenſible of. The duke of Orleans ſupping with him one night, ſhewed an eager impatience for a new fruit that was brought to the table. 'Take it,' ſaid the king, being vexed at his having revealed a ſecret of importance, 'eat, for you are no more maſter of your appetite than 'of your tongue.'

This little quarrel occaſioned ſome coolneſs in the behaviour of the two brothers to each other, which was perceived by the courtiers; but it did not laſt long. The king was remarkably polite, yet what the author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth relates, of the contempt he ſhewed for thoſe who were in the firſt employments of the court, is certainly true.

Lewis, at his return from hunting one day, deſired his great coat might be taken off. The duke de **, who was in waiting, not being preſent, Blouin the king's valet de chambre, advanced reſpectful to take it off. 'Take it,' ſaid the king, 'one valet will do as well 'as another.' All who were preſent looked upon one another with ſurprize. 'Very good,' ſaid the malicious courtiers, 'the king would not have uſed that

'con-

'contemptuous expreſſion, if his firſt gentleman of 'the bed-chamber had been a gentleman.'

Thoſe who pretend to penetrate into the thoughts of princes, attribute to the king's envy, his leaving the duke of Orleans unemployed during the war. They ſay that Lewis, who in the year 1692 had laid ſiege to Cambray, and had given to his brother the command of the forces which inveſted Saint Omer, was ſo mortified at the complete victory which the duke gained over the prince of Orange, that he never mentioned that action to him; and appeared exceſſively grieved when the people cried, *Long live the king, and the duke of Orleans who has gained the battle.*

This ſtory is ſufficiently refuted by the known character of Lewis XIV. He was always generous, always capable of commanding his paſſions; envy could find no place in a mind exalted like his, though emulation might. It is highly probable, that the duke of Orleans was not willing to take upon himſelf the command of the army. He loved glory, but he loved pleaſure ſtill better; and more than one victory was neceſſary to perſuade the publick and even himſelf, that a man who dreſſed like a woman, was fit for the trade of heroes.

However that may be, the two brothers loved each other, and mutually endeavoured to pleaſe. The duke of Orleans was ever ready to flatter the king, and the king paſſed over his irregularities. In a converſation, when all reſerve and ceremony was baniſhed, the king aſked him what people ſaid of him? 'They ſay,' replied the duke, 'that you are not communicative 'enough.' 'And what, added he, 'do they ſay of 'me?' 'That you are too communicative,' returned the king.

The duke of Chartres ſucceeded to all his father's eſtates, rights and prerogatives. The dutcheſs of Orleans was intreated to diſmiſs her maids of honour, which ſhe did, and was attended only by her women. She was reconciled to the king, who had always behaved very coldly to her: her's was the only heart in the royal

family which madame de Maintenon had not been able to gain.

The dutcheſs, who always reſented the marriage that had been made for her ſon, affected more inſolence than ſhe really had. When ſhe went to viſit the dutcheſs of Burgundy in her firſt lying-in, 'I will not 'ſtay long with you,' ſaid ſhe to her, 'the perfumes 'I have about me, may be prejudicial to you.' The king was ſo offended at this ſarcaſtick ſpeech, apparently meditated, that he would have forbid her the court, if madame de Maintenon had not appeaſed him.

A few days afterwards the dutcheſs of Orleans, who had been informed of the good office madame de Maintenon had done her, went to viſit her, and ſaid, 'I am come to aſſure you, that I now love you as 'much as I have hitherto eſteemed you; and this you 'will find no difficulty in believing, if you recal to 'remembrance, with what frankneſs I have formerly 'declared that I hated you.'

Notwithſtanding the advances made by the princeſs to madame de Maintenon, their friendſhip went no further than reſpectful advice on the one ſide, and praiſes or thanks on the other. The dutcheſs of Orleans endeavoured to become a devotee, but ſhe could not ſucceed in this character; ſhe was never able to ſuppreſs her ſecret inclination for her firſt religion, which ſhe did not abjure, till the very moment when ſhe was conducted to the altar to be married to the duke of Orleans.

It was reported that ſhe carried on a private correſpondence with a Calviniſt preacher; there was doubtleſs as little reaſon for this report, as for that which was propagated by Jurieu, of the friendſhip between Bayle and madame de Maintenon*. The dut-

cheſs

* Bayle, being accuſed of concerting with her the ruin of the proteſtant religion, thus anſwers in the preface to his Chimerical Cabal. 'Monſieur Bayle has 'ſearched all over Rotterdam, for that man who,

'when

chesſ in her old age, conformed to all theſe minute practices of piety, which ſhe had formerly deſpiſed: when the ſenſes are blunted, theſe little ſuperſtitions become neceſſary by the amuſement they afford.

The count d'Aubigné had now reached that age, when the mind ſeeks in them its conſolation and its pleaſure. He retired into a community of laicks; this ſolitude ſuited with the unſociableneſs of his temper; he had an apartment there, and divided his leiſure between the duties of religion and the pleaſures of life. He lived like an old ſinner, who was willing to go to heaven as eaſy as poſſible.

The abbé Madot, who was educated at the ſeminary of Saint Sulpice, and the friend of the celebrated la Chetardie, was ſuperior of this community, and acquired great power over the mind of the count d'Aubigné. Madame de Maintenon took upon herſelf the care of managing his eſtates and paying his debts. The biſhop of Chartres, la Chetardie, and father Bourdaloue, prevailed upon the old man, by repeated importunity, to live upon ten thouſand livres a year. D'Aubigné, who was now virtuous, becauſe it was no longer in his power to ſin, appeared a ſaint to the community, whoſe benefactor he was.

Madame de Maintenon intreated the abbé Madot to continue his cares: the director and the penitent be-

'when over his bottle, boaſted that he had given him 'a letter from madame de Maintenon; he has not yet 'been able to diſcover who he is, but in the mean 'time, monſieur Bayle thinks it proper to declare that 'he is a falſe witneſs; for he has never, either direct-'ly or indirectly, neither in time of peace or in war, 'received any letter or meſſage of any kind from that 'lady. It is very probable, that ſhe does not know 'there are ſuch perſons as Bayle and Jurieu in the 'world; and doubtleſs if ſhe ſhould know that ſhe 'has been mentioned in their quarrel, ſhe would think 'the refugees either very fooliſh or very wicked, to 'ſuppoſe her ſo ready to write.'

came inſeparable, and d'Aubigné at length performed thoſe acts of religion, through inclination, which decency and perhaps weakneſs of mind, obliged him to before.

He had for ſome months languiſhed under an ill ſtate of health, when he was perſuaded to try the waters of Vichy, whither he was attended by the abbé Madot. There he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs: his friend gave him notice that he had but a few minutes to live. The count d'Aubigné received his ſentence with as great calmneſs as if he had always lived well; he died full of faith, hope, and penitence. The abbé Madot, who was the depoſitary of his laſt ſentiments, ſet out inſtantly for the court, to tell madame de Maintenon that ſhe had now a brother in heaven; ſo that ſhe learned at once all that could affiict her moſt ſenſibly, and all that could afford her the trueſt conſolation. She entreated the king to give an abbey to the abbé Madot.

The eccleſiaſtick, who while he was poor ſhewed great indifference for riches, deſpiſed poverty as ſoon as he was rich. He prevailed upon madame de Maintenon to procure for him the biſhoprick of Tournay, vacant by the death of monſieur de Coëtlogan; and the king accordingly nominated him to that biſhoprick, although father de la Chaiſe repreſented to his majeſty, that the chapter being compoſed of gentlemen, would with difficulty be induced to obey a man of mean birth.

Madot afterwards ſolicited for the biſhoprick of Belley, and obtained it: he aſked for another abbey, and it was given him; he demanded letters de cachet againſt his canons, and they alſo were granted him. Madame de Maintenon now hoped that the cravings of this inſatiable man were ſatisfied, but every day ſhe received new letters from Belley, in which ſhe was ſolicited for new favours. She entered through gratitude into all the neceſſities of the holy biſhop, but not without murmuring, that he made her pay ſo dear for her brother's ſalvation.

At

At length Madot aſpired to a more conſiderable biſhoprick; and to intereſt the compaſſion of madame de Maintenon in his ſuit, he repreſented to her that the ſharp air of the mountains of Belley was very prejudicial to his health, and that a tranſlation into a gentler climate would re-eſtabliſh it. Madame de Maintenon, who conceived by his looks that he was perfectly well, and who valued biſhopricks for their being laborious, not for their revenues, thus anſwered him, 'You cannot live long at Belley, you ſay; well, monſieur learn to die there.'

This leſſon the marchioneſs of Monteſpan had not yet been able to learn. It was her cuſtom ever ſince ſhe left the court to paſs the winter at Paris, and the ſummer in Poitou, always ill where ſhe was, always fancying that ſhe would be well where ſhe was not. When her conſcience was not preſſed with the remembrance of her ſins, ſhe was ready to hope that God would pardon her, and was caſt into deſpair whenever they roſe to her thoughts. Always tormented by her own remorſe, which by ſome parſimonious alms ſhe endeavoured to ſtifle, ſo haughty that ſhe diſputed precedence with the princeſſes of Lorrain, as if the title of late miſtreſs to the king could give her any rank; and ſo humble, that ſhe expreſſed a kind of joy, when her domeſticks failed in their reſpect to her.

Madame de Monteſpan, although removed from the court for more than twenty years, yet ſtill retained all the vices ſhe had acquired there, luxury, caprice, diſtruſt and ambition: ſo dangerous it is to ſuffer our minds to take a bad bias. As ſoon as ſhe might be ridiculed with impunity, La Bruyere painted her in his *Characters* as ſtill adoring her beauty, contemplating with pleaſure its precious remains, and at ſixty years of age aſking her phyſician why thoſe wrinkles in her face, that ſtomach ſo weak, that peeviſhneſs of temper, and perpetual laſſitude?

Either through vanity or reſtleſsneſs of mind, ſhe engaged in the cabal of the Janſeniſts, who compared

her to the dutcheſs de Longueville, and celebrated her as the ſaint of their party. This ſect has, indeed, always been famous for its choice of ſaints. The king was informed of it by Pontchartrain, which intirely effaced, from his heart, every ſentiment of tenderneſs or eſteem, if any yet remained there.

Madame de Monteſpan went every year to the baths of Bourbon; there it was that ſhe ſought health, and there ſhe met with death. Having cauſed herſelf to be bled unſeaſonably, ſhe was ſeized with a delirium, which was attended with other ſymptoms that left the phyſicians no hopes of her recovery. An expreſs was inſtantly diſpatched to the marquis d'Antin to inform him of his mother's danger. In one of her intervals of ſenſe, her woman told her ſhe was extremely ill; ſhe exclaimed againſt them vehemently, and maintained to the prieſt, her phyſician, and her ſervants, that ſhe was in good health.

The marquis d'Antin came poſt to Bourbon, and without alighting from his chaiſe, or making any enquiries concerning his mother, he demanded her caſket; one of her women delivered it to him, but told him that madame de Monteſpan never truſted any perſon with the key of it, which ſhe always carried about her. The marquis then went to her apartment, ſearched for the key in the boſom of his dying mother, emptied the caſket, ſhut it, and went away, without giving any orders, or diſcovering either curioſity, ſurprize, compaſſion or grief. A few hours afterwards madame de Monteſpan expired.

In her will ſhe had ordered, that her bowels ſhould be carried to the community of Saint-Joſeph. The great heat of the weather made the ſmell of them ſo offenſive, that the perſon who was employed to carry them, was not able to proſecute his journey; but, turning back, delivered them to the capuchins at Bourbon. The warden of the monaſtery, being almoſt ſtifled with the ſmell, threw them to the dogs. When it was known at court what had happened to the bowels of madame de Monteſpan, one of her old

old friends ſaid, laughing, 'and had ſhe any bowels 'then?'

Such was the end of this woman, famous for her beauty, her power, her irregularities and her fall; ſhe had a thouſand amiable qualities, and not one virtue; a thouſand faults, and not one vice; ſhe diſhonoured her huſband, ſtained the glory of her lover, and enriched herſelf by the poverty of her fellow-citizens; ſhe was regretted neither by the king, her children, not the nation; one half of her life was ſpent in grandeur, and the other half in contempt; ſhe was rather aſhamed of her faults than penitent for them; her reign had been ſo fatal to our fathers, that they looked upon it as a puniſhment from heaven upon France; her death was diſtinguiſhed by ſo many ſhocking circumſtances, that it appeared to be one of thoſe ſtrokes, by which providence ſometimes condeſcends to juſtify its ways to weak minds, and confounds the incredulity of the wiſe, either by cruſhing whole nations at one blow, or by depriving publick ſinners of the conſolation of grace, and the ſentiments of humanity.

CHAPTER XV.

Partition treaties, and wills.

THE king of Spain's declining health ſhewed his death to be near, and his death the approach of a general war. Lewis and William ſeemed to have no other deſign, but to maintain the peace. They were now become the arbitrators of Europe, and were no longer apprehenſive of each other's power; however, their plan of politicks alarmed the houſe of Auſtria, which was upon the point of loſing Spain entirely.

The firſt partition treaty gave this crown to the electoral prince of Bavaria, the grandſon of Margaret Thereſa, daughter of Philip IV. by his ſecond queen. The dauphin, ſon of Maria Thereſa, daughter of the ſame Philip by his firſt queen, and conſequently the

ſole and lawful heir to the Spaniſh monarchy, was to have for his ſhare the two Sicilies and the ſtrongeſt towns in Italy. The archduke Charles was to have only the Milaneſe.

The king of Spain being informed that his monarchy was diſmembering during his life, he anſwered, with theſe few words, 'All treaties are void, if God 'does not ratify them.' The queen his wife, enraged at his inſenſibility, uſed continual endeavours to excite his indignation againſt diſpoſitions made without his conſent; ſhe never ceaſed to remind him of the marriage-contract, by which his eldeſt ſiſter had renounced all claim to the Spaniſh monarchy: a renunciation void in the opinions of politicians, although civilians think differently; but always cited with advantage to a weak prince, as if he who exacted it was not the dupe of his own caution.

The queen ſecretly carried on intrigues in favour of the archduke, ſecond ſon of the empreſs her ſiſter; but her nephew's rights being ſo remote, that it was highly probable his pretenſions would give umbrage to all Europe, and be diſpleaſing to her huſband, ſhe had taken meaſures to ſecure by force what ſhe could not hope to obtain by perſuaſion.

She had filled the palace with her creatures, the council with her miniſters, and the troops with Germans. Her relations and friends were in poſſeſſion of the chief employments in the kingdom; the government of the Low-Countries had been given to the elector of Bavaria; the government of Milan to the prince of Vaudemont, the ancient friend of William and the emperor; and the viceroyalty of Catalonia to the prince of Darmſtadt, her couſin-german.

The old hatred of the Spaniards againſt the French was weakened by their averſion to the German tyranny. The grandees of the kingdom were divided; ſome were for giving the crown to the prince of Bavaria; others to a ſon of France; but all agreed in their abhorrence of diſmembering their monarchy, and in their fears that the two crowns of France

and

and Spain would become the patrimony of one family.

They foreſaw a cruel war from France, if her claims were ſet aſide, and they concerted meaſures for preventing it. All entered with ardour into the different ſchemes which were formed; many murmurs were raiſed againſt the queen; but thoſe perſons who were loudeſt on this occaſion were baniſhed.

The marquis de Harcourt, ambaſſador from France to Madrid, a man equally qualified for the cabinet or the field, took advantage of every favourable incident to produce a friendſhip between the two nations, which would be alike neceſſary and uſeful, whether the partition treaty remained in force, or was annulled by the teſtament of the Spaniſh king.

It was this nobleman, who, in contempt of this treaty, in defiance of the queen's cabals, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and authoriſed by circumſtances deciſive for a negotiator, firſt propoſed to the Spaniards a ſon of the dauphin for ſucceſſor to Charles II. and formed a party powerful enough to ballance the queen's. But the king of Spain, being inceſſantly importuned by this princeſs, diſconcerted all the marquis de Harcourt's ſchemes, by making a will, in which, to the prejudice of the dauphin's claims, he appointed the electoral prince of Bavaria his univerſal heir; and, in failure of this prince, the crown was to deſcend to the archduke, in prejudice to the claims of the duke of Orleans. By this will, the queen of Spain gave a great monarchy to her family; and, ſecure of the regency during a minority, ſhe flattered herſelf with the hopes of reigning ſome years longer.

The preſident Henault is the firſt hiſtorian who has mentioned this will, upon the authority of the marquis de Dangeau's memoirs, which furniſhed him with ſo many other facts. The author of a *memoir upon the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain*, which I attribute to Valincourt, adds, that the emperor durſt not oppoſe it, becauſe the prince of Bavaria was his grandſon, and becauſe

becauſe the father of that prince had, by his courage and capacity in war, been very uſeful to the houſe of Auſtria. The king taking of Belgrade and the battle of Neuhauſel, were ſtill remembred. But theſe are trifling conjectures: to believe that private perſons are always determined by intereſted motives, is malignant and unjuſt, but to ſuppoſe that princes are influenced by friendſhip or gratitude, is weak and ridiculous. The court of Vienna was paſſive upon this occaſion, becauſe ſhe found no power willing to ſupport her.

The marquis de Harcourt was informed of the purport of this will by cardinal Portocarrero, who did not think his fidelity to the Spaniſh monarchy violated, by betraying the ſecrets of its monarch. Guilville, one of his gentlemen, carried the news of it to Lewis, who reſolved to recal his ambaſſador from Madrid, to ſhew the Spaniards that he was diſſatisfied with their proceedings, and continued him there to ſupport the French faction.

The peace, which by the mediation of England and Holland, had been concluded between the emperor and the Turks, broke, for ſome months, the good intelligence between William and Lewis. William was charged with having ſent home all the emperor's forces, when he might have detained them, if he had been willing that the partition treaty ſhould take place.

Feb. 6. 1699.] The prince of Bavaria died at ſeven years of age: no one lamented his death but the queen of Spain. Valincourt, or the author of the memoir I have already quoted, imputes, without diſguiſe, the ſudden death of this young prince to the court of Vienna, at all times influenced by the deteſted maxims of Machiavel, and ſuſpected of repairing by its poiſoners, the errors of its miniſtry.

In the court of Spain cabals and intrigues were renewed. The queen was more powerful than ever, becauſe ſhe ſubmitted to greater meanneſſes than ever to become ſo. She ſeemed to be entirely Spaniſh, in order to make Spain entirely German. The counteſs

of

of Berlips governed her, and the marquis of Harrach governed the counteſs of Berlips.

Cardinal Portocarrero, haughty, inflexible, adored by the people, reſpected by the grandees, the protector of France, which he hated, ambitious of fame, and fond of power, being convinced that Auſtria would enſlave his country, vigorouſly oppoſed the Auſtrian party, and retired to his biſhoprick of Toledo. Madrid declared that ſhe had loſt her benefactor; and all the Spaniards, who had not been corrupted, or whom it was impoſſible to corrupt, turned their eyes upon Lewis the Fourteenth.

Mar. 13. 1700.] Another partition treaty was ſigned by France, England, and Holland. By this treaty, the dauphin had all that was given him by the former, and a large addition to it. Lorrain, which was taken from duke Leopold, who was indemnified for it by the ceſſion of the Milaneſe, without conſulting him upon the exchange. The archduke had all the reſt of the Spaniſh monarchy, upon condition that the Spaniſh and imperial crowns ſhould never be placed upon the ſame head.

The emperor was allowed three months to accept of this treaty; upon his refuſal, the contracting powers were to chuſe another king. When three great ſtates were ſeen, notwithſtanding their jealouſies and animoſity, to agree ſo eaſily in an affair, in which the ſecurity of the world was concerned, we cannot but confeſs with the duke of Orleans, that the perpetual peace of the abbé de Saint Peter is a chimera and a dream, for all but the nation of politicians.

This famous treaty, which was publiſhed in every court of Europe, was very differently received: few approved of it; the greater part thinking it impoſſible to be put in execution, looked upon it as the ſpark which was to kindle the war, not the bond of peace. Here William was ſuſpected of laying France aſleep by deluſive negotiations; there Lewis the Fourteenth was charged with laying the ſame ſnares for William.

All

All agreed that France had a juſt right to complain of the king of Spain's will: but it was aſked what right England and Holland had, to diſtribute what did not belong to them. Was it to preſerve the peace of Europe? Europe was not conſulted upon this treaty. Was it to maintain that equality of power, which hinders the ſtrong from oppreſſing the weak? But what equilibrium was here! France, bounded by Lorrain, aggrandized by the Spaniſh frontiers; the ſovereign of the mediterranean, by the acquiſition of Naples: might ſhe not incline to political balance as ſhe pleaſed.

As ſoon as Lewis had ſigned the treaty, he was convinced that it would never take effect: however, to remove all umbrage from his allies, on account of the marquis de Harcourt's intrigues at the court of Spain, he recalled him from Madrid. But to ſecure himſelf a reſource againſt their breach of faith, he left Belcourt there, whom Voltaire makes ſecretary of the embaſſy, and whom the king appointed his envoy extraordinary. The queen and her partiſans, not doubting but that he laboured only for the execution of the treaty, ſecretly endeavoured to hinder it.

However, the grandees of Spain, inſtigated by Monterey, expreſſed great reſentment at the affront offered to their country; to the publick intereſt, private advantage was joined. They were apprehenſive, that a foreign prince would beſtow all the great poſts and governments upon his relations and favourites, the only reſource of many decayed families. There was more danger of ſuffering this injuſtice from the Germans than the French, becauſe Auſtria was full of noblemen, whoſe poverty rendered all countries equal to them; whereas the great families in France ſeldom renounce their country.

They often aſſembled in private, being animated by Belcourt, and directed by cardinal Portocarrero, who, although he was never preſent at their conſultations, preſided there by his friends. Some recommended the duke of Anjou to the king of Spain, as a prince to whom

whom the crown in juſtice belonged. Their arguments did not alter his reſolution, but prepared his mind to receive thoſe truths, which were afterwards enforced with ſo much energy. The queen's continual ſollicitations at laſt prevailed upon him to confirm his will, by which the crown was, in failure of the prince of Bavaria, to deſcend to the archduke. The emperor, who thought himſelf ſecure of the whole ſucceſſion, deferred at firſt, and afterwards refuſed to accede to the partition treaty.

Three months were now elapſed, when Lewis, being informed of the diſpoſition the Spaniards were in, received with great indifference, the propoſitions that were made him from London and the Hague, concerning the choice of another king. The negotiations were protracted, and William and Lewis ſeemed to leave Spain to the care of providence.

Mean time Charles the Second grew weaker every day, and drew towards his end. Cardinal Portocarrero knowing the power which religion has over men when dying, who in health have moſt contemned the laws of juſtice, reſolved to make the king liſten to its tremendous voice. Don Antonio de Ubilla ſecretary to the king, was entirely devoted to him: theſe two men drew up a will, which preſerved the Spaniſh monarchy entire, and ſecured the peace of Europe, by giving the crown not to the dauphin, but to his ſecond ſon.

Oct. 2.] Cardinal Portocarrero, being ſent for to adminiſter the laſt ſacraments to the king, aſſuming a noble freedom, addreſſed him in this manner, 'Sire, 'all your greatneſs is paſſed away; you are ſoon to 'appear before the tribunal of God, where you 'muſt give an account of your actions like one of the 'meaneſt of your ſubjects; does your conſcience re-'proach you with any crime?' The king ſighing, replied, 'that he had always rendered juſtice to his peo-'ple.' 'That is true,' replied the cardinal; 'but have 'you been juſt to your relations? the dauphin of 'France is your majeſty's next heir, yet, in defiance

of

'of all laws, divine and human, you appoint a ſucceſſor in a more diſtant degree.' 'I would have 'preferred my nephew to the prince of Bavaria and 'the archduke,' ſaid the dying monarch, 'if the 'king of France had not joined with a heretick to divide my ſpoils.'

'Sire,' replied cardinal Portocarrero, with all the authority of his function, 'theſe reſentments, though 'lawful, will not juſtify you before God; the dauphin is not anſwerable for the ambition or injuſtice 'of his father, and the faults of his father will not excuſe yours; you are going to be examined whether 'you have fulfilled your duty as a king: how will you 'be able to anſwer your almighty judge, when he 'aſks you whether you have not diſobeyed the firſt 'laws of nature, through compliance with deceitful 'and intereſted advice? whether you have not, by 'the diſpoſitions of your will, made it impoſſible to 'leave peace to your people? Spain is upon the point 'of being torn with an obſtinate, and perhaps civil 'war, Europe of being conſumed by the devouring 'ambition of two powerful rivals, and your majeſty, 'the ſole cauſe, will be eternally puniſhed for theſe 'calamities, which it is eaſy to avoid, by making another will, which, by declaring one of your nephew's ſons king of Spain, will ſecure the publick 'tranquillity.'

It is alledged by ſome writers, that the cardinal, taking advantage of his diſordered ſenſes, only propoſed to him ſome pious legacies, for the repoſe of his conſcience; and that the king, thinking he ſigned them, ſigned the will. But by contemporaries we are aſſured, that cardinal Portocarrero, finding the king greatly affected with what he had ſaid to him, preſented the will he had drawn up to the king; and to render it more authentick, cauſed ſome of the grandees to enter the king's chamber, that it might be ſigned in their preſence. They alſo add, that the king earneſtly recommended it to them to have it executed, and ordered them to ſign it likewiſe. Theſe grandees were all in the French intereſt.

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The ſecret, although confided to ſeveral perſons, was nevertheleſs religiouſly kept. The queen was informed that the king had ſigned a paper; but they told her it was only a codicil full of pious charities, and ſhe as piouſly believed it.

From that time cardinal Portocarrero, who was apprehenſive of her great influence over the king, never ſuffered her to be a moment alone with him. Sometimes he prevailed upon her not to come into his chamber, under pretence that it might be prejudicial to her health; and, ſometimes going in with her, gave the king abſolution; however, in his delirium, theſe words often eſcaped him; 'But the 'queen knows nothing of the matter.' He was unwilling to be expoſed to the arguments, the tears, threats, and exclamations with which he had been perſecuted for ſo many years.

At length died this prince, who had been dying ever ſince his birth. He was but little eſteemed by his people, whoſe good he had never conſulted, and but little regretted by the grandees, who, from a change of government, hoped for a change of fortune. The queen only appeared inconſolable, becauſe ſhe was not afflicted. *Nov.* 1.

Two hours after his death, the council met to open his will. The queen dried her tears, and already meditated the orders ſhe ſhould give in the beginning of her regency: the great officers of the crown ſwore to pay abſolute obedience to the king's will. Cardinal Portocarrero endeavoured to ſuppreſs his joy, when don Antonio d'Ubilla entered the hall, and opened the will with all the uſual ceremonies.

The teſtator, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, declared that the renunciation of Maria Thereſa, his ſiſter, and that of Anne his aunt, to the monarchy of Spain, being only required to prevent the crowns of France, and Spain from being united on the ſame head, theſe renunciations were in force with regard to the dauphin, but void with regard to the other lawful heirs: therefore ſince the dauphin and his eldeſt ſon the duke of Burgundy were to ſucceed to the crown of France, he

he appointed the duke of Anjou his general heir; and failing him, the duke of Berry; after them their poſterity; then the archduke, and after him the duke of Savoy.

He ſettled a council of regency, compoſed of the queen, cardinal Portocarrero, the preſidents of Caſtile and Arragon, the inquiſitor-general, the count d' Aiguillar, as counſellor of ſtate, and the count of Benaventi, as grandee of Spain. The queen had but one voice, and, in caſe the votes were equal, the deciſive one.

Every word, that related to theſe unexpected regulations, was like the ſtroke of a poignard to the diſappointed queen: confuſed, dejected, and in deſpair, ſhe durſt not mention the former will, nor reproach cardinal Portocarrero with his treachery. She quitted the hall bathed in tears, and bleſſed aloud the memory of her huſband, which doubtleſs ſhe inwardly execrated.

The ingenious, the bold, but the partial author * of *The Political Hiſtory of Lewis the Fourteenth*, pretends that the queen was not only let into the whole myſtery; but alſo that ſhe herſelf had adviſed the king to make this will, with a hope of raiſing enemies to France, and to deprive her of part of the ſucceſſion, by offering her the whole †. To conteſt facts unanimouſly acknowledged to be true, upon conjectures, founded upon the circumſtances of thoſe facts, is eſtabliſhing the dreams of policy upon the ruins of hiſtory. If the queen of Spain had done ſo great a ſervice to France, is it probable that the duke of Anjou would have ſent her back to Bayonne? he would have rewarded her for the benefit; he would have forgot, or ſeemed ignorant of the motive.

CHAP.

* M. Maubert, author of the political Teſtament of cardinal Alberoni, ſo ſeverely criticiſed by monſieur Voltaire, and ſo highly eſteemed, notwithſtanding his cenſures.

† See in the *Bibliotheque Britannique* of Dr. Maty, a complete refutation of this tale, which appears again in the ſecond page of the Political Hiſtory with as little probability.

CHAPTER XVI.

The duke of Anjou, king of Spain.

THE regency diſpatched a courier immediately to France with the articles of the will which related to the ſucceſſion, and two days afterwards another courier was ſent with the will entire, and very reſpectful letters, in which the ſpeedy departure of the duke of Anjou from France was earneſtly requeſted. The marquis de Caſtil dos Rius, ambaſſador from Spain to France, had a private audience of the king, who ſaid only theſe few words in anſwer to him, *monſieur ambaſſador, I will conſider of it.* 'I ſhould never have 'imagined,' ſaid the ambaſſador, when he came out of the king's cloſet, 'that to an offer of two and twen-'ty kingdoms, I ſhould have been anſwered only with,' *I will conſider of it.*

The princes, the miniſters, and ſome of the principal lords, were convened. The king propoſed to them the moſt important queſtion that ever was under deliberation; was the king of Spain's will to be accepted, or was the partition treaty to be adhered to? Lewis gave full liberty to the ſuffrages; but no one was ignorant how much the king was charmed with the glory of having a king more in his family.

The dauphin declared for accepting the will, adding, that his higheſt ambition was to be able to ſay, during his whole life, *the king my father, and the king my ſon:* ſpecious words; but ſuggeſted rather by indolence than indifference for dominion.

This great queſtion ſhewed what a council compoſed of courtiers is capable of doing. All ſeemed ſolicitous for the aggrandizement of the royal family, not one was attentive to the welfare of France; for the duke of Burgundy and the duke de Beauvillieres proteſted, that they voted againſt accepting the will, only

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to have the whole matter made plain to them: however, reaſon was on their ſide.

By accepting the will, France muſt neceſſarily be engaged in a war, which would unite all Europe againſt her. By adhering to the partition treaty, ſhe would be ſtrengthened with the aſſiſtance of two powers, till then the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of her grandeur; and if Europe was not willing that France and the two Sicilies ſhould be under the dominion of one ſovereign, peace might be ſecured, by giving Naples to the duke of Anjou: that effuſion of human blood, which princes make ſo little account of, would have been ſpared; but, by yielding to the cruel ſuggeſtions of ambition, Europe was forced to fight for her liberty.

Madame de Maintenon was conſulted; ſhe anſwered, 'If it be true what our miniſters ſay, that by accepting the will, we ſhall ſecure the peace of Europe, I think we ought not to heſitate.'

Thoſe who voted for accepting the will, flattered themſelves, that when France and Spain were united, no power would venture to attack them; as if it was not probable that the emperor would enforce the renunciations of the queens, and England and Holland the partition treaties; ſo freely entered into, ſo juſtly conceived, and ſo ambitiouſly violated.

The king, after well weighing the different opinions, neglected the moſt uſeful, and followed the moſt ambitious; however he concealed his reſolution, till he had cauſed the governors of the Low-Countries to be ſounded, who made proteſtations of fidelity; and the penſionary of Holland, who confined himſelf to compliments only.

The king had a long converſation in private with the duke of Anjou, who, ſuppreſſing his joy, anſwered calmly to thoſe who endeavoured to penetrate into this important ſecret, 'After the honour 'the king of Spain has done me, by appointing me 'for his ſucceſſor, his memory will be ever dear to 'me.'

The court with impatience expected the unravelling of this great affair; the people with inquietude;

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of what importance is it to France, ſaid ſome, whether a Bourbon or a Hapſbourg be king of Spain? What is France the better, ſaid others, for the acquiſition of a few provinces; the king will be richer, but will our poverty be leſs? The grandeur of the prince is always the humiliation of the people. They were indeed weary of fighting in quarrels wholly indifferent to the ſtate; they foreſaw that the country was going to be ſacrificed to the dignity of the royal family, whoſe true glory it is to ſacrifice that chimerical dignity to the happineſs of the country.

Nov. 12.] In the mean time the king wrote the following letter to the Spaniſh regency.

'The marquis de Caſtel dos Rius has delivered to 'us the clauſes of the will, containing the order and 'rank of the heirs called to the ſucceſſion of the Spa-'niſh monarchy, and the wiſe regulations for the 'government of the kingdom, till the majority and 'arrival of the ſucceſſor. Our grief for the loſs of a 'prince, whoſe amiable qualities and relation to us 'made his friendſhip ſo highly valued by us, receives 'a great increaſe from the affecting proofs which at 'his death he has given us of his regard to juſtice, 'his love for his faithful ſubjects, and his ſolicitude 'to maintain even beyond his life the general peace 'of Chriſtendom.

'That we may make ſuitable returns to the unli-'mited confidence he has repoſed in us, we will ex-'actly conform to his laſt will, and uſe all our en-'deavours to reſtore, by an inviolable peace, the 'Spaniſh monarchy to its ancient ſplendour. We 'accept the will of the deceaſed catholick king, in 'favour of our grandſon the duke of Anjou: the dau-'phin our only ſon accepts it alſo. He readily aban-'dons the juſt claims of the deceaſed queen his mo-'ther, acknowledged inconteſtible by many different 'miniſters of ſtate; and is ſo far from being deſirous 'to reſerve to himſelf any part of the Spaniſh monar-'chy, that he chearfully ſacrifices his own intereſt to 'the duke of Anjou, whom the teſtament of the de-'ceaſed

'ceaſed king, and the common voice of the people 'call to the throne.

'We will haſten our grandſon's departure for his 'dominions, that we may as ſoon as poſſible give ſuch 'faithful ſubjects the ſatisfaction of receiving a king; 'firmly perſuaded that it is his firſt and chief duty, to 'aſſociate juſtice and religion with him in his reign, 'to make the happineſs of his people his only care, 'to know and to reward merit, and to employ it in 'his councils, in his armies, and in the different offices 'of his church and ſtate. We will endeavour to teach 'him what he owes to his own glory, and ſtill more 'what he owes to a nation alike brave and wiſe, and 'always faithful to its ſovereigns. We will exhort 'him to remember his birth, and whoſe ſon he is, but 'chiefly of what nation he is the king.

'He will continue to love his country; but that 'love will only inſpire him with the deſire of main-'taining a good intelligence, ſo neceſſary for the com-'mon ſecurity and repoſe of our ſubject and his.

'This peace has ever been the chief object of our 'wiſhes and our prayers; and if the misfortunes of 'the times have not permitted us to reſign ourſelves 'wholly to theſe ſentiments, we are perſuaded that 'this great event will make ſuch an alteration in the 'ſtate of things, that every day will afford us a new 'opportunity of witneſſing to all the univerſe, our eſ-'teem and affection for the whole Spaniſh nation.'

The precipitation with which this will was accepted, made it evident that the king knew the purport of it before it was ſent to France. It is probable that Bel-court was not informed of it? This miniſter was in high eſteem with his king; would he have preſerved his confidence, if he had not been capable of pene-trating into a ſecret of ſuch importance?

The duke of Orleans, before whom the archduke and the duke of Savoy were preferred, believed this excluſion of him had been ſuggeſted to cardinal Porto-carrero, by the French ambaſſador at Madrid, entered a proteſtation againſt it, being perſuaded that Europe would have more willingly ſeen the grandſon of Lewis

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the Thirteenth upon the throne of Spain, than the grandſon of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The king received letters every day from the Spaniſh regency, preſſing the ſpeedy departure of the duke of Anjou. The queen ſigned theſe letters with ſeeming ſatisfaction, and diſpatched couriers into all the provinces, to ſecure the governors in her intereſt, if the will ſhould be refuſed.

The preſident of Caſtile declared neither for France, nor Auſtria, expecting the orders of his ſuperiors, or rather the will of fortune. Cardinal Portocarrero abſented himſelf from the council, under pretence of indiſpoſition, that he might have it in his power to excuſe himſelf to the new king, whoever he might be.

Lewis ſent the marquis de Harcourt into Spain, whom he created a duke, and commiſſioned to concert with the regency, the manner in which the new king ſhould be received. No one but the marquis de Caſtil dos Rius, certainly knew the king's intention: and the ſecret was ſo carefully kept, that the foreign miniſters at the courts of France and Madrid, wrote to their reſpective ſovereigns, that the will would not be accepted. Hence proceeded the aſtoniſhment of all Europe when it was.

At length the court returned from Fontainebleau. The king fixed upon a Tueſday for making known his reſolution, a day when it was uſual for all the ambaſſador to appear at Verſailles.

Nov. 16.] At half an hour after nine o'clock in the morning, the king ſent for the Spaniſh ambaſſador into his cloſet, and ſaid to him, *the hour is now come for making a king.* He afterwards ſent for the duke of Anjou, who was in the inner cloſet with the princes his brothers. 'My ſon, ſaid Lewis to him, 'it is God 'only who makes you a king; endeavour to confirm 'his reign in every place where you are going to 'command; and you, monſieur ambaſſador, ſalute 'your king.'

The ambaſſador, inſtantly bending upon one knee, kiſſed the duke of Anjou's hand, and made him a long compliment in Spaniſh. The king ſaid, 'he does not

'not yet underſtand Spaniſh; I muſt therefore anſwer 'for him. If he follows my councils, you will be a 'great lord, and that very ſoon; in the mean time, 'he cannot do better than follow yours.'

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry now approached, and throwing themſelves on the neck of their brother, with tears expreſſed their joy for his elevation, and their grief at being ſoon obliged to part with him. It was then that the duke of Anjou ſaid to the duke of Burgundy, 'I am king of Spain, you will be king of 'France, but poor Berry has nothing, 'And I,' replied the duke of Berry. 'Will be prince of Orange, and 'make you both mad,'

The duke of Burgundy deſired the king would permit him to accompany his brother to the Spaniſh frontiers, 'Yes, my ſon' replied the king, with a tender emotion, 'and the duke of Berry alſo; I am delighted 'to find that you love one another ſo tenderly.'

At ten o'clock the cloſet door was opened, and the courtiers entered in crouds: a profound ſilence ſucceeded. The eyes of all preſent were fixed upon Lewis, who, taking the duke of Anjou's hand, ſaid, with the majeſty of the maſter of the world,

'Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain! his birth 'has made him ſo, the deceaſed king has appointed 'him, the nation demands him, and I conſent to it. 'And you, my lord,' added he, addreſſing himſelf to the duke of Anjou, 'be a good Spaniard; that is now 'your firſt duty, but never forget that you are born a 'Frenchman; endeavour to preſerve the union between 'the two crowns, that Spain and France, happy in 'each other's friendſhip, may confirm for ever the 'tranquillity of Europe.'

The ambaſſadors heard theſe words with a reſpectful fear; they foreſaw that a king ſo ſolemnly made could not be attacked without danger; they examined the countenance of the count de Zinzendorf the emperor's miniſter, whom a ſcene ſo mortifying and ſo unexpected, had not diſconcerted: he neither betrayed a diſſembled joy, nor ſadneſs artfully ſuppreſſed.

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The evening before he had demanded an audience with great eagerneſs; he had it then, and wholly maſter of his looks and temper, he received the moſt extravagant compliments, upon the birth of a ſon to the king of the Romans, to which he anſwered, as if they had not been ſuſpected.

The next day he received orders from his maſter, to inſiſt that the will was forged; this was allowing it to be lawful, if authentick. In conſequence of new orders, he mentioned the renunciation of the Pyrenean treaty, as if the danger of uniting the two crowns was not more to be dreaded by Auſtria than by France. At length he was ordered to ſhew great ſatisfaction at the will's being accepted, and to give out, that the maritime powers would no longer offer the Bourbons, what was allowed them by the partition treaty, but would hinder them from poſſeſſing the monarchy. Theſe various reſolutions taken by the council of Vienna, ſufficiently proved that Auſtria had neither any claims to this ſucceſſion, nor forces to ſupport thoſe ſhe pretended to have.

The new king, naturally ſerious, ſpoke very little, examined his ſeveral kingdoms upon the map, and learned with great rapidity, the language of the country he was going to govern. 'He will ſoon be able 'to ſpeak your language,' ſaid the king to the marquis de Caſtel dos Rius. 'Ah! ſire,' replied the ambaſſador, 'the Spaniards muſt now learn to ſpeak 'French.' 'My grandſon,' reſumed the king, 'has al-'ready the gravity of a Spaniard.' 'I am charmed to 'ſee it,' replied the marquis, 'and that he preſerves, 'notwithſtanding, all the politeneſs of the French.'

This nobleman had always ardently wiſhed, that a ſon of France might be his maſter. It was with this hope that he had ſupported the embaſſy at his own expence; and it was to his diſpatches, that cardinal de Portocarrero owed the vigour of his proceedings. When he ſaw that his vows were accompliſhed, he thus expreſſed himſelf in a letter to the cardinal, '*At 'length there are no more Pyreneans.*'

Ever preſent to himſelf, he applauded, with ſeeming tranſport, all the happy ſayings with which chance or memory had furniſhed the king. The anſwer of the prince to the harangues of the corporations of the kingdom, were juſt and elegant. 'Monſieur,' ſaid he to the preſident of the academy, 'I have always 'had an eſteem for your ſociety; it is remarkable for 'its wit, and you do not diſgrace it.'

The young king had frequent conferences in private with his grandfather, who gave him uſeful leſſons upon government, and charmed with his good ſenſe, and the rectitude of his mind, 'My ſon,' ſaid he, embracing him tenderly, 'you and I ſhall ſuffer a great 'deal from our being ſo particularly known.'

The duke of Rochefoucault telling the young king that he could not hunt in Spain, becauſe the dogs there loſe their ſent through the intenſe heat of the climate, 'Yes, the dogs of France,' anſwered Philip, 'but I 'will have dogs from Africa, and they ſhall be the 'firſt tribute I will impoſe upon the king of Morocco.' One of the courtiers aſking which was the king's place in the army, 'Where the fight is the hotteſt,' ſaid the young king of Spain. An old lord alledging that a king, who had no children, ought to keep in the ſecond line, or in the corps de reſerve, 'Is his having 'no children,' ſaid Philip, 'a reaſon for diſhonouring 'himſelf?'

When the news came to Bruſſels that the will was accepted, the elector of Bavaria expreſſed great joy for it, quitted his mourning, cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in all the churches, and, by the moſt magnificent ſhews and entertainments, celebrated a day which became ſo fatal to him. When his ſon died, he complained of the ſtar of Auſtria, always malignant to thoſe who oppoſe her aggrandiſement; and theſe ſuſpicions were neither confirmed nor removed. He immediately ſent the marquis de Bedmar to France, to aſſure the catholick king of his obedience.

The prince of Chimai, the duke d'Avrai, and many other Flemiſh lords, deſired leave to attend the marquis de

de Bedmar to France. All the cities acknowledged the new king. The city of Antwerp offered him a ſtatue; the Flemiſh lords were invited to Marli, where it was not uſual to admit any foreigner. 'You 'ſee me here,' ſaid Lewis to the marquis de Bedmar, 'diveſted of all grandeur.' 'Sire,' replied the marquis, 'it is very difficult to perceive it.' The Flemings admired the wit and judgment of their king, the graceful condeſcenſion of the king of France, and the beauty of the dutcheſs of Burgundy.

In Spain all offices and employments, except thoſe of the crown, become vacant when the king dies; and when that happens, there are always new patents made out: a cuſtom certainly very inconſiſtent with the principles of monarchy.

The elector of Bavaria had entertained hopes, that he would be continued in the government of the Low Countries; and it was promiſed him. The natives of Meſſina, who had taken refuge in France, ſollicited for a pardon; but the king of Spain, deſirous of conſulting the regency before he did any thing in the affair, contented himſelf with ſaying, that he would remember thoſe who had firſt acknowledged him for king. The marquis de Bedmar, who commanded the troops of Flanders, was a long time queſtioned concerning the condition of the fortreſſes there. He ſaid that they were full of Dutchmen. 'You may 'aſſure the elector of Bavaria,' ſaid Lewis to the ambaſſador, 'that, upon the arrival of the firſt courier 'from him, I will ſend him what number of troops 'he ſhall demand; and I engage my royal word to 'withdraw them that very moment that their aſſiſ-'tance is become unneceſſary.' Lewis neglected nothing which could reaſſure his allies, and diſarm his enemies; his expreſſions were full of kindneſs, and his actions of moderation.

The prince of Vaudemont, governor of the Milaneſe, declared in his letters, that when he was informed of the king of Spain's will in favour of the duke of Anjou, he had begun to breath again, but

when he knew that France had accepted of it, his joy was unbounded; he aſſured the catholick king of his adherence, and of the ſubmiſſion of the people whom he governed.

The partiſans of the houſe of Auſtria at length abandoned a court, which was ſo far from promiſing any reward for their fidelity, that it had not even foreſeen that fidelity would be ſhaken. When the prince of Darmſtadt viceroy of Catalonia, received the diſpatches from the council of regency, he convened his council, ſwore he would pay the moſt exact obedience to the will, and acknowledge the king that was there appointed. He never doubted but that this king was the archduke; he opened the packet, he read the deed of ſettlement aloud; when the name of the duke of Anjou ſtruck his eyes, the paper fell from his hand; all who were preſent cried out long live the duke of Anjou king of Spain: the Auſtrian was obliged to join his acclamations with theirs.

The biſhop of Gironne was bold enough to make ſome oppoſition, but no body liſtened to him. The ambaſſadors of Savoy and Venice, the pope's nuncio, the miniſters of the Italian princes, emulouſly acknowledged the new king. England and Holland kept a profound ſilence, more aſtoniſhed at this event than eager to traverſe it.

Dec. 24.] At length the day appointed for the king of Spain's departure arrived. The dukes de Noailles and de Beauvilliers, were named to attend the princes in their journey. The king would conduct the king of Spain as far as Sçeaux, a houſe which the duke du Maine had lately purchaſed from madame de Louvois. The king gave his grandſon the right hand in his coach. Finding the road between Verſailles and Sçeaux crouded with people, 'You ſee,' ſaid the king to his children, 'how much we are beloved;' and to the king of Spain he ſaid, 'This joy is ſincere; as 'long as you remember that you are a Frenchman, 'you will always find the Frenchmen Spaniards.'

Their parting was very tender and affecting. The two kings burſt into tears when they embraced; the dauphin

dauphin ſupporting himſelf againſt the wall, concealed his tears; the dutcheſs of Burgundy hid her face in her hood. The affecting ſilence, in the midſt of this croud of princes and of noblemen, added to the ſatisfaction of the people, who were charmed to ſee that their maſters were men. 'Why all theſe tears?' ſaid the marquis Caſtel dos Rius, 'can you not ſee each 'other when you will?'

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry attended the king of Spain to the frontiers: as they paſſed they every where ſaw great joy among the people, and were affected with their extreme poverty. When Philip entered into his own dominions, he gave many marks of his humanity. He forbid the combats of the bulls, under pretence of its being Lent; he refuſed to be entertained with a diverſion, in which ſome of the meaneſt of the people were to hazard their lives: 'God forbid,' ſaid he, 'that my amuſement ſhould be fatal 'to any one.'

He baniſhed his nurſe, becauſe ſhe received preſents; he ſubjected himſelf to the ceremonial of the palace, which in Spain makes a kind of puppet of the ſovereign; but at his country palaces he lived with all the eaſe and freedom of the French. He had inſtructions from his grandfather, which would have made Spain happy, if his underſtanding had been equal to his good intentions. Theſe writings paſſed through the hands of the duke de Noailles, who made a preſent of them to the king's library.

CHAPTER XVII.

War declared. The firſt campaigns.

ALL Europe had now entered into a confederacy to depreſs the power of Lewis the Fourteenth, yet many able politicians aſſerted, that by accepting the will, the harmony which would for the future ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Spain, was more advantageous to the former, than a partition

treaty, by which ſhe acquired new dominions in Italy, that to preſerve, had occaſioned all the misfo-tunes of Lewis the Twelfth and Francis the Firſt, would weaken her forces by ſea, and divide thoſe by land.

Lewis had made no preparations for war; he had neither ſecured allies, nor given ſatisfaction to his neighbours. The proteſtant princes of the empire were enraged at his obſtinacy, in eſtabliſhing the maſs in the country of Montbelliard. The duke of Lorrain could not forgive him, for obliging him to ſubmit to the humiliating ceremony of vaſſalage: and the Venetians reſented the attempt made upon their liberty, by claiming for the French banditti an exemption, which a king, who had been guilty of aſſaſſination out of his own dominions, could not have claimed for himſelf.

If France ſingly was not able to make war with advantage, ſhe might have eaſily formed alliances: but her miniſters were as unſkilled in the buſineſs of negociation, as incapable of acting with vigour in caſe of a war; ſhe never had more occaſion for able ſtateſmen, and ſhe never had worſe. The man who was at the head of the army and the finances, was totally ignorant of both. The miniſter for the marine had never ſeen a veſſel, and the ſecretary for foreign affairs had never been out of Paris; they had but little capacity, no reputation, and were wholly regardleſs of their country's good.

Leopold, although the oppreſſor of his people, and the conqueror of Servia and Tranſilvania, had eſcaped the charge of ambition. William had been ſo miſtaken in his opinion of this emperor, that, in the year 1689, he had promiſed him the crown of Spain; but when he reflected, that this Leopold had uſurped prerogatives upon the empire, he thought him ſtrong enough to engage with Lewis alone, and ſeemed reſolved to remain neuter, till the neceſſity of preſerving a balance, would oblige him to arm againſt the moſt powerful. The council of France might have taken advantage

advantage of the firſt ſteps made by William and the Dutch in their favour. William had complimented the duke of Anjou on his acceſſion to the crown of Spain, as being the lawful heir; and the Dutch had openly acknowledged him. They prepared for war, but it was the emperor only who deſired it: England and the States-General ardently wiſhed for peace. Lewis might have diſunited them, by feigning to ſubmit the claims of both the poſſeſſor and the competitor to the arbitration of William, who was ambitious of acting the part of the defender of the liberties of Europe; and by giving or promiſing the Dutch, ſuch ſecurity as ſhould remove all their apprehenſions.

But the council, inſtead of entering into theſe views, which would have preſerved the rights of the king of Spain, without leſſening the glory of the king of France, reſumed its former haughtineſs, without being able to ſupport it. They ſuffered the emperor to ſtrengthen himſelf with new friends; they neglected or irritated the maritime powers; they ſent Teſſé to the duke of Mantua; they allowed the republick of Venice to preſerve a neutrality, which was of worſe conſequence than an open rupture: they ſuppoſed the duke of Savoy would continue firm to the intereſts of his ſons-in law; therefore they offered him money and a treaty of marriage, inſtead of promiſing to enlarge his territories, by ſome part of Lombardy, which the emperor had ſecretly offered him. They wrote very polite letters to the prince of Vaudemont, to engage him to ſerve under the duke of Savoy, and others full of ſeverity and haughtineſs to the diet of the empire, which it was dangerous to affront.

At length they took poſſeſſion of all the fortreſſes in the Low Countries. Two and twenty Dutch battallions, who guarded them, were driven out, without making any reſiſtance. They were able and perhaps ought to have ſtopped them, but they were apprehenſive that they ſhould be accuſed of having firſt begun acts of hoſtility: although in ſuch nice and critical moments, he is not the aggreſſor who firſt attacks, but he that would have attacked if he could.

This caution in the Dutch, and the extreme delicacy of Lewis the Fourteenth, made it evident that neither Holland nor France were deſirous of a war; they were in the ſame ſituation that we ſee two kings in at preſent: war is projected by both, each is unwilling to engage in it, and neither dare declare it.

Mean time the emperor paſſed an army of thirty thouſand men into Italy, commanded by prince Eugene, whither Lewis had ſent one before, under the conduct of Catinat, the laſt pupil of Turenne and Condé. Prince Eugene entered Italy by the ſide of Trent, and the French could not prevent him from paſſing the Adige. Catinat, who had orders not to attack the prince firſt, contented himſelf with barring his paſſage to Mantua and Milan. Saint Fremont and Teſſé were defeated at Carpi.

Catinat receiving every day new checks, ſuſpected the duke of Savoy of being in intelligence with prince Eugene; and one day in the council of war he ſaid aloud, 'We have a traitor among us.' He acquainted the court with his uneaſineſs; the facts upon which he founded his ſuſpicions gave them weight. The dutcheſs of Burgundy, enraged that her father ſhould be accuſed of perfidiouſly betraying his allies, engaged the count de Teſſé to juſtify him. Chamillard adviſed the king to recal the accuſer, who had no friend to ſupport him at court, becauſe he had merit.

Marſhal Villeroi, the king's favourite, and hitherto only known by the errors he committed in war, and by thoſe amiable qualities which make a man beloved in peace, was bold enough to ſucceed Catinat in his command: he had rivals for this poſt, but his intereſt prevailed, and he ſet out for the army to begin the misfortunes of France.

Sept. 1. 1701.] He found prince Eugene intrenched at Chiari, very ſtrong in infantry, and ſupported by his whole army. Catinat, who had not yet quitted his camp, declared againſt attacking the prince, alledging, that the attempt might poſſibly be dangerous, and its ſucceſs moſt certainly uſeleſs. Villeroi heſitated; however he was forced into this meaſure by the duke

duke of Savoy, who exerted his power as generaliſſimo of the army.

The French, ſince there was no remedy, went to the ſlaughter with a good grace: our two generals fought like men in deſpair; the duke of Savoy endeavoured by his courage, and even raſhneſs in the battle, to wipe off the reproach of treachery; he had a horſe killed under him, and ſeveral ſhots went through his cloaths. His intrepidity deceived neither the publick nor the king; it was not thought impoſſible for the ſame man to be brave in the field and treacherous in the cabinet, to betray his allies through ſelf-intereſt, and deſpiſe death through vain-glory; in a word, to deliver himſelf to all the ardor of his courage, and to hope that he might make his breach of faith be excuſed by the enemy who profited by it, and reſpected by the friend who was a victim to it.

The king was ſo fully perſuaded that his troops had been ſacrificed to the emperor, that he ſent orders to his own, and the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Savoy, to break off the marriage which was then negociating between Philip V. and the princeſs of Savoy; but thoſe orders came too late, the marriage was already concluded.

At the news of this defeat William and the Dutch, who only waited to be determined by the firſt events, formed the grand alliance with the emperor. The Dutch were ſecretly inclined to a neutrality, but Lewis offered them only his ſacred word for a barrier, a weak ſecurity for merchants, who ſtill remembered the fatal effects of their former credulity.

They alarmed the king of Portugal, by perſuading him that France had promiſed his kingdom to Spain, as a recompence for the Low Countries, which Lewis was to keep to indemnify himſelf for the expences of the war. The king had not even thought of this exchange, and all Europe ſuppoſed it was determined.

The object of the grand alliance was not to dethrone Philip V. but to give the emperor that ſatisfaction which was not ſecured to him by the treaties. The contracting

ting powers were to act in Europe for the common cauſe, and in the Indies for themſelves; the archduke was to have Naples and Milan; the Spaniſh Netherlands was to be given to the Dutch, to ſerve as a barrier againſt the invaſions of France, and no ſeparate peace was to be made.

The treaty by which afterwards the whole ſucceſſion was promiſed to an Auſtrian prince, endangered the liberties of Europe more than the teſtament which gave the monarchy to a ſon of France. The king of England was doubtleſs ſenſible of this, but he hoped that ſome future event would make it eaſy for him to diſengage his word, and that at the congreſs of Ryſwick all the advantage of victory might be his own.

Sept. 16.] Mean time king James was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs. On his death-bed he ſaid to his ſon, 'However glorious a crown may be, it comes 'at a time when it is very indifferent to me. Revere 'your mother, love the king of France as your bene-'factor, and prefer your religion to all human gran-'deur.'

The Stuarts have faithfully obſerved his laſt advice, and it is their religion ſtill which excludes them from the throne. By what ſtrange fatality is it that proteſtant princes have always changed their religion whenever their intereſt required it, while catholick princes have always continued firm and unſhaken in theirs!

Lewis went to St. Germains to viſit the dying prince; and, without being influenced by the intreaties of the queen, or the ſollicitations of madame de Maintenon, he aſſured him that he might die in peace with regard to the prince of Wales, for that he would acknowledge him king of England. He gave conſolations to the father, and inſtructions to the ſon, who committed them to paper, upon the ſpot, that he might, as he told his governor, read them every day, and fix them for ever in his memory.*

King

* Dangeau's MSS.

King James expired on a Wedneſday, at three o'clock. It is one of his weakneſſes to wiſh to die on this day. He had deſired to be interred in the pariſh of St. Germains with great privacy; he alſo requeſted that he might have no mauſoleum, and no other epitaph than theſe words: *Here lies James II. King of England.* He was a bad prince, but a good man. He loſt his crown, and he performed miracles: his relicks cured the biſhop of Autun of a fiſtula. The devotees invoked as a ſaint a king who had the inhuman Jefferies for a chancellor.

The prince of Wales was acknowledged king of England. The author of the age of Lewis XIV. makes this the principal cauſe of the war, and attributes it to the king's being moved by the ardent ſupplications of the queen of England, who threw herſelf at his feet *, and, in compliance with the deſires of madame de Maintenon, who felt too ſenſibly the misfortunes of her friend. But 'tis certain that Lewis did not heſitate a moment; and that without any ſollicitation he acknowledged the prince of Wales, through generoſity, through pity, or, perhaps, becauſe his pride was ſoothed with having it in his power to make a king. He did not acknowledge the prince of Wales till the ſixteenth of September, and the treaty of the grand alliance was ſigned the ſeventh of the ſame month.

It is indeed true that the parliament of England had not ratified it; but William was ſo ſure of the nation's conſent to this war, that, when he was told that Lewis XIV. had ſent ſix millions of money to corrupt the members of both houſes of parliament; 'So much 'the better,' ſaid he, 'he ſhall have war, and we will 'have his money.'

The author aſſerts that the members of parliament were gained over to the French intereſt, and had not the king imprudently acknowledged the ſon of king James II. England would have remained neuter.

William

* See the libel he has written againſt me, under the title of a Supplement to the age of Lewis XIV.

William had already awakened in the hearts of his ſubjects their antient hatred to the French, and that powerful phraſe, the liberty of Europe, was heard on every ſide. If the confeſſion of the royal prerogatives made to an exiled prince had been the principal grievance complained of by England, ſhe would have been appeaſed and ſatisfied by the declaration Lewis made, that no article in the treaty of Ryſwick ſhould be violated by his having acknowledged the ſon of king James. The prince of Wales had only a bare title; he was king but in the ſame ſenſe that the king of England is king of France, and the Engliſh were willing enough to let him reign in the antechamber at Verſailles; *iſtâ ſe jactet in aulâ.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Cauſes of the misfortunes of France.

WILLIAM ſoon followed his father-in-law; he cauſed Fagon the king's phyſician to be conſulted upon his diſeaſe. Fagon, without ſuſpecting who the perſon was that had deſired his opinion of his caſe, told his meſſenger, that the patient had nothing to do but to prepare for death. When Lewis received the news of it, he ſaid not one word to the courtiers, and gave no indications of joy; he thought he had got rid of his moſt cruel enemy, and he loſt one of the moſt moderate.

He might have broke the league after the death of the prince who was the ſoul of it, by engaging the Dutch in his intereſt, who, having loſt their council and their ſupport, were ſunk in extreme dejection; but whether he deſpiſed his enemies, or that he thought a moderation which would be attributed to his fears, would debaſe his dignity, he neither entered into any negociation, or commenced hoſtilities. The almoſt uſeleſs alliance of the elector of Bavaria was preferred to that of the United Provinces, who now hoped for a barrier only from their courage and their money.

After

After treating a free people with indifference, he treated a nation of ſovereigns with haughtineſs and inſult; he threatened the ſtates of the empire with ſending an army into the dominions of thoſe princes who declared againſt him, which ſhould put every thing to ſword and fire. The Germans recalled to their remembrance the cruelties exerciſed in the provinces of the Upper Rhine, and thought the ſureſt way to prevent new ones, was to revenge the old. The menaces of Lewis did more than all the intreaties of the emperor Leopold; they united the circles againſt France, which till then had declared, that the empire ought not to engage in the quarrels of the emperor.

Bavaria and Cologn remained firm to Lewis; though ardent friends, they were but weak allies; threatened with the ban of the empire, and quickly driven out of their dominions, they eſcaped the reſentment of the diet to fall into the hands of the aulick council, who afterwards degraded them, without form as without juſtice.

In England queen Anne ſucceeded to William, and engaged in all his ſchemes. Her council, extremely enraged againſt France, communicated their ardour to all her allies, and war was declared on all ſides againſt Lewis and Philip.

The checks we received in Italy preſaged ſtill greater diſgraces. Thoſe times were over when Lewis, at ſetting out from Verſailles, could ſay, I will go to ſuch a place, I will take ſuch a city, and I will return ſuch a day; he no longer appeared at the head of his armies, he no longer kept the field with that confidence which had aſtoniſhed all Europe, when, being obliged to decamp for the want of forage, he wrote to the enemies, letting them know the day and the hour of his departure, that they might follow him if they durſt.

His grandſon at firſt gave hopes that he would prove a warlike prince; he left Madrid to go and defend his dominions in Italy. Cardinal Portocarrero and his whole council wrote to him, and conjured him not to go to Italy. He told their meſſenger, 'That he

'would

'would anſwer them when he got there.' He learned with the grief of a hero, that an hour before his arrival general Veſconti had been beat at Santa-Vittoria by the duke de Vendôme, who had ſucceeded Villeroi in the command of the army, that general having been taken priſoner when Cremona was ſurpriſed.

In the battle of Luzara he put himſelf at the head of a company of the houſhold horſe, and eagerly ruſhed into places where there was moſt danger. Eugene was vanquiſhed as much as he could be: in all the accounts that were ſent of this action to Verſailles, prince Eugene is not ſaid to have fled, but to have retreated. France ever eſteemed Eugene, and the opinion this prince had of the French may be collected from what he wrote to one of his generals: 'Endeavour,' ſaid he, 'to fight the French, it is not poſſible to vanquiſh them.'

Lewis, although he no longer animated his armies by his preſence, yet reſolved to direct their motions from his cabinet; hence thoſe preciſe inſtructions which make a general a mere machine. The efforts of genius were reſtrained by authority, and opportunity ſacrificed to obedience. It was not to this ſyſtem that Lewis owed his ſucceſs in thoſe happy times when, he could ſay to an officer ſetting out for the army, 'Hint to monſieur de Turenne, that I ſhould be glad 'to know ſometimes what he deſigns to do.'

The plans for the campaign were now only ſettled by the king and his miniſter; but the latter, incapable of forming one himſelf, ſought aſſiſtance from his friends, who had recourſe to others more ſkilful than themſelves. Lewis was impenetrable; Chamillard diſcloſed his deſigns to every body, and thoſe orders which were ſent to the French generals, often reached Marlborough and Eugene the ſame day, at firſt from publick report, and afterwards from ſecret correſpondence.

The generals who commanded our armies had doubtleſs occaſion for theſe arbitrary inſtructions; it was neceſſary that the preſumption of the Vendômes

ſhould

ſhould be repreſſed, the incapacity of the king of Spain aſſiſted, that the prudence of the duke of Burgundy ſhould be awakened, and diviſions among the generals prevented; it was neceſſary to guard againſt the inexperience of la Feuillade, whoſe only merit was to be ſon-in-law to the miniſter; of the count de Teſſé, who was only fit to engage the Huguenots; of Vivarais, of Marſin, who had no other quality but courage; and of Villeroi, who was never able to acquire the confidence of his ſoldiers: but the publick demanded why Catinat, Feuquieres, Vauban, Conti, theſe brave and experienced warriors were either allowed to retire to their eſtates, where they lived inactive, or to remain in Paris unnoticed.

The prince of Conti, who had ſignalized himſelf at the battles of Steenkirk and Nerwinde, was adored by the ſoldiers. A certain perſon having told madame de Maintenon, that the whole kingdom was grieved to ſee a general ſo brave, ſo prudent, ſo beloved, whoſe name alone was ſufficient to rouſe the drooping ſpirits of a vanquiſhed army, living in a kind of contempt at home.

'The prince of Conti's merit,' replied madame de Maintenon, 'can admit of no addition, in whatever 'light we view him, he is the worthieſt man in France; 'but the king cannot reſolve to give the command of 'his armies to a prince of his blood.'

'But, madam,' ſaid this perſon, 'does not the 'king retain ſome remembrance of the intercepted 'letters? and is it not reſentment rather than policy 'that prevents the king from employing his kinſ-'man?'

'Ah,' replied madame de Maintenon, 'if the prince 'of Conti is of this opinion, he does the king great in-'juſtice: the king is truly generous, he has pardoned 'the prince, and he never pardons by halves; but it is 'certain that he thinks it dangerous for the ſtate to 'confide his perſon and his armies to the princes of the 'blood. We do not chuſe to employ men who, by 'their actions, may become as great and powerful as 'the king is by his rank.'

'Theſe

'Theſe cautious maxims of policy,' reſumed the biſhop of Agen, who relates this converſation, 'might 'formerly have been followed and avowed with ju- 'ſtice, but at preſent the authority of the monarch is 'ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, the people ſo ſubmiſſive, and 'the nobles ſo humbled, that it ſeems odious to ſuſ- 'pect a prince of the blood.' 'All this is true,' replied madame de Maintenon; 'but monſieur de Lou- 'vois ſo carefully inculcated this maxim into the king's 'mind at a time when it was really neceſſary, that now 'it is no longer ſo, it is ſtill obſerved.'

Devotion had likewiſe a part in the imprudent choice that was then made of generals; their piety, not their abilities for war, recommended them to the king, who ſuppoſed that an officer who received the communion frequently, could not fail of intereſting heaven in his ſucceſs; the beſt catholicks were oppoſed to the heretick Marlborough, and a general's punctuality in attending maſs was more carefully enquired into, than his vigilance in maintaining diſcipline in the camp.

Such as thought the valour, the number, and the confidence of ſoldiers, were the only divinities that preſided over battles, laughed at theſe pious notions; ſuch as knew the great principles upon which they were founded, pitied the king for carrying them ſo far; it was right to truſt in providence, and to act as if nothing was to be expected from it.

The king's reſolution not to tolerate the Huguenots, was another cauſe of the bad ſucceſs of this war; at a time when he had moſt need of the affection of all his provinces, the ſouthern ones were perſecuted; a young country woman, whom the abbé du Chaylar forced from her lover, armed the fanaticks againſt their butchers; a love quarrel produced a religious war; a handful of banditti (for the Huguenots deteſted this rebellion) made a fatal diverſion for our arms, gave employment to two marſhals of France, and would have laid waſte the country, if England and Savoy had ſent the promiſed ſuccours; a baker's boy treated with Lewis XIV. like one ſovereign with another. If the crimes which are committed through piety may ever

ever be repented of, Cavalier would have taught the king how dangerous it is to ſport with conſciences by edicts.

However, the Huguenots who remained in France were leſs to be dreaded than thoſe that had quitted it. The great number of refugees who were inliſted in the Engliſh and Dutch troops, had taught the enemies how to beat the French. Many of theſe refugees were taken priſoners, and Chamillard was for treating them as criminals, guilty of high treaſon: the king, altho' fully perſuaded they were ſo, was aſſured that repriſals would be made, and therefore directed that they ſhould neither be excluded from the right of nations nor the privilege of the cartel.

The dejection into which all the orders of the ſtate were thrown, and the diſcontent of ſome, was another ſource of our misfortunes; the people were delivered up to the financers, the church to the jeſuits, and the princes and nobles to the miniſters. The king was at length convinced, that by ſeeking glory he often loſt the affections of his people: he was now beloved only by ſuch as received penſions from his bounty, and thoſe who defended their country were no longer ſenſible that they had one. What intereſt, it was aſked, have the nation in this war? And Fenelon declared in his writings, that the king was in conſcience obliged to make war at his own expence, ſince he made it only for his family.

Theſe times, ſo barren in virtue, yet, produced ſome good citizens: Villars, who, as he ſaid himſelf, loved no money but what belonged to the enemy, and who was as capable of giving wiſe counſel as of gaining battles; Vauban, who owed his riſe to his own merit, but by the cabals of courtiers removed from the army; D'Huxelles, whoſe plainneſs and ſincerity are ſo well marked in the anſwer he made to the king, when he rallied him upon living unmarried; *I have never yet ſeen a woman of whom I could wiſh to be the huſband, nor a man of whom I could wiſh to be the father.* Boufflers, who in a monarchy dared to exert the

virtues

virtues of a republican, and who acquired as much glory by obeying, as others fancy there is honour in commanding; Noailles, who deſired leave to ſerve at a time when our generals were without ambition and without hope, and in a country where not to be defeated was the greateſt honour they could expect.

CHAPTER XIX.

The duke of Orleans. Siege of Turin.

DUring the two firſt years of the war, the French were often ſucceſsful, and often met with great and ſudden reverſes of fortune. The year 1704, ſaw the whole face of Europe changed, Germany in one moment delivered from the French, Spain almoſt conquered by Portugal, which had lately engaged in the grand alliance, and whoſe troops were reinforced by thoſe of England and Holland; the archduke Charles aſſumed the title of king of Spain, and the battle of Hocſkſtedt ſo imprudently hazarded, ſo weakly ſupported, deprived us of an hundred leagues of territory, and from the Danube threw us back to the Rhine.

The elector of Bavaria, Talard, and Marſin, reciprocally charged each other with the loſs of this battle, ſo fatal in its conſequences, in its circumſtances ſo ſhameful. Villars, the only man who could be oppoſed to Marlborough, had been condemn'd to fight with Cavalier, becauſe he had quarrelled with the elector.

The king received the news of this defeat with a fortitude equal to his aſtoniſhment; but, when the croud of courtiers was withdrawn, he confeſſed to madame de Maintenon, that he had never before felt ſo great a ſhock. She told him that mortals muſt humble themſelves under the hand of God. 'Ah, 'madam,' replied the king, 'thirty French battali-'ons made priſoners of war!' The evening before one 'of our ſoldiers ſaid to the prince of Baden, 'I have 'the honour to be a Frenchman.'

Father

Father de la Chaiſe had prepared a conſolatory diſcourſe. 'Father,' ſaid the king when he appeared, 'we are not to be always fortunate; God is pleaſed 'to puniſh France, we muſt ſubmit to his will.

This ill news did not put a ſtop to his innocent amuſements; his countenance diſcovered no emotion, his diſcourſe betrayed no dejection; he comforted the widows of thoſe who had died in his ſervice, he thanked Marſin for not deſpairing to retrieve the affairs of France; he was never before ſo truly great.

The next year was more glorious for France, but more fatal to Spain: Nice and Villa Franca, two important towns, were taken; the victory of Caſſano was diſputed by Vendôme with Eugene, and adjudged to the former; Champaign was guarded againſt an invaſion by Villars, whom Marlborough durſt not venture to attack. In Flanders Huy was taken and loſt again, Dieſt taken and kept, and the army was preſerved; but in Spain Teſſé raiſed the ſiege of Gibraltar, the Portugueſe took ſeveral towns, Barcelona ſurrendered to the archduke Charles; the houſe of Auſtria acquired new friends every day, and the Spaniards expreſſed more indignation againſt the hereticks for profaning their churches than for dethroning their king.

The elector of Bavaria declared that he would paſs the winter at Paris, to concert with the king the plan for the operations of the enſuing campaign. This reſolution alarmed all the friends of the miniſter, they were apprehenſive he would complain of being ill ſerved the laſt campaign, that he would ſpeak the truth, and ruin Chamillard; however the king was deſirous of conferring with the elector, who only wanted to be invited.

The cabal knew the king's extreme delicacy, in every point that related to his dignity; they told him that the duke of Bavaria pretended to the privilege of an arm chair in his preſence, which, however, this prince had never thought of. The king was apprehenſive that if it was refuſed him he would complain of it as an affront; and if it was granted, Europe would

would have accuſed him of mean condeſcenſion to his allies: the army therefore was abandoned to the inſtructons of Chamillard, and to the blunders of Villeroi.

When the elector of Bavaria was informed of this malicious intrigue, he ſaid, 'I never had an arm-chair 'with the king of England; I ſhould not have em-'barraſſed the king of France with the trifles of the 'ceremonial; virtue and honour are every where 'conveniently ſeated.'

The battle of Ramillies was ſhamefully loſt, notwithſtanding the bravery of the king's houſhold troops, victorious at firſt; but, being ill ſupported, they were broke, though they rallied; and when overpowered by the enemy they retreated at length in good order. All the reſt of the army fled, diſperſed, threw themſelves into the neareſt towns, and defended them very ill.

The cry againſt Villeroi was now univerſal. Madame de Maintenon had a particular friendſhip for him; but convinced of his incapacity, ſhe prevailed upon the king, who ſtill balanced between his favourite and the publick, to ſacrifice her friend to the good of the ſtate, repreſenting him as a moſt imprudent general, and very unfit for the command he had honoured him with.

Villeroi was recalled; he attributed all his misfortunes to Chamillard. The king, to ſpare him the mortifying raillery of the courtiers, granted him a private converſation, but would not hear his excuſes. The marſhal, enraged at the publick reproach of incapacity, rejected the indulgence of his maſter, and complained ſo bitterly of the injury that had been done him, that he fell into a kind of diſgrace.

April 19. 1706.] Our affairs wore a better appearance in Italy. The duke de Vendôme, in his letter to the king, ſaid, *I will beat the enemy*; and the next day he ſurprized the Daniſh general count Reventlau at Calcinato, killed three thouſand of his men, took eight thouſand priſoners, and loſt only ſeven hundred of his own ſoldiers. Big with hopes and projects, he received

received orders to leave Italy, and take upon him the command of the army in Flanders in the room of Villeroi. Vendôme obeyed; Italy was loſt without recovering our advantages in Flanders.

The king was a long time in doubt what general he ſhould ſend to ſucceed Vendôme in Italy. The duke of Orleans appeared the moſt likely to conſole the army for the loſs of their late general; but his debaucheries had already removed him from all command in the armies. His licentious court of Saint-Cloud was compoſed of only gay witty philoſophers, celebrated for their amours; of La Fare captain of his guards, and regulator of his pleaſures; of the abbé de Grancey his almoner, who diverted him with ſatirical ſongs, and took care never to fatigue him with maſſes; of the viſcount de Polignac, and the marquis de Nêle, whoſe wives were leagued againſt devotion; of Effiat, Simiane, Clermont, Conflans, voluptuous youths who copied their maſter.

Fontenelle alſo attended the court of this prince; and, too ſenſible of the honour of being admitted to his familiarity, went with him ſometimes to conſult magicians upon his future fortune; however he was often ſhocked at the impious language he heard at table. 'Theſe,' ſaid he, one day, 'are very low 'jeſts for gentlemen.'

The king was not ignorant of the diſorders of this little court; he often reproved his nephew for that extravagant fondneſs for women, which made all the mothers in the quarter Saint-Honoré tremble, and which ſometimes carried him into places conſecrated to piety, and ſometimes to others devoted to the moſt unreſtrained libertiniſm.

The abbé Dubois, who had been his preceptor, was ſuſpected of having married, to give a convenient miſtreſs to the prince; not that there were very ſtrong reaſons for this ſuſpicion, but every thing was thought poſſible to a man who could ſay, 'The day that ſees 'me a prieſt will ſee me receive the communion for 'the firſt time.'

The

The lieutenant de Police planted a certain number of ſoldiers about thoſe publick houſes to which the duke of Orleans often reſorted for amuſement, who gave an account of his behaviour, and guarded his perſon. Certainly the king was excuſable for giving the command of his army to a good man rather than to this young prince.

The duke of Orleans, piqued at being unemployed, exhaled his chagrin by injudicious remarks upon the bad conduct of the generals, and conſoled himſelf with the princes of Condé and Conti for the misfortune of being prince of the blood; for he affected to believe that was the ſole cauſe of his being excluded.

This ſort of diſcourſe at firſt gave offence; but afterwards the prince's obſervations appeared ſo juſt, that it was hoped he who could project ſo many great things might be capable of performing ſome. The king aſked his opinion of the diſpoſition of the army in Flanders; the duke of Orleans told him that if the French were attacked they would certainly be beat. The overthrow at Ramillies proved the truth of his obſervations, and determined his uncle to employ him.

But although a perfect purity of manners could not be immediately expected from him, yet he was required to behave with decency at leaſt. The duke complained to madame de Maintenon of the king's exceſſive coldneſs towards him. 'Your amours,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'are the cauſe of it; the king 'is extremely ſevere upon ſuch faults, and your royal 'highneſs allows yourſelf in a licentiouſneſs which gives 'ſcandal to perſons much more indulgent to the paſ-'ſions of youth than his majeſty.'

The duke of Orleans aſſured her that he would ſacrifice every paſſion to the king, and that the deſire of pleaſing and of ſerving him was always moſt powerful in his heart. Madame de Maintenon, taking him at his word, aſked him if he would ſacrifice mademoiſelle Sery to the king, a young woman whom he then kept publickly, and was extremely fond of. This requeſt awakened ſome ſentiments of honour in his mind, he was aſhamed of having lived ſo long in libertine pleaſures,

ſures, he was apprehenſive of ſharing the infamy of his miſtreſs, and glory ſilenced the ſoft pleadings of love.

Madame de Maintenon, taking his ſilence for conſent, added, 'Since you have reſolved to renounce 'this young woman, your peace will be ſoon made.' Madame de Dangeau was ſent for; the prince's reſolution was highly applauded; they preſented him with paper and ink, and prevailed upon him to take an abſolute leave of mademoiſelle Sery.

Madame de Dangeau ſet out inſtantly for Paris. She went to the houſe of the miſtreſs, and delivered the prince's letter to her, before a great deal of company. Mademoiſelle Sery, being thus diſmiſſed, retired to a convent, and gave out that ſhe had quitted the prince firſt.* The king flattering himſelf that this firſt offering to decency would be followed by a more regular conduct, rewarded his nephew for it, by giving him the command of the troops in Italy. The duke of Orleans received this proof of his eſteem and confidence with exceſſive joy; the court and the city approved of the king's choice, and the army now thought itſelf invincible.

But the king judging that the prince, with every talent to form a great captain, had not the experience of one, ſubjected him to very exact and particular orders, deſigned to moderate his ardor, but which only ſerved to blaſt all his enterpriſes.

The duke of Orleans' hiſtorian attributes theſe orders to the advice of madame de Maintenon, too indulgent to the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who being perſuaded of the great abilities of the new general, thought the ruin of her father unavoidable, if his hands were not tied.

It is certain that this princeſs was extremely afflicted at the firſt ſuſpicions which were entertained againſt the duke of Savoy. Her terror and anxiety, when ſhe was told that the king had given orders to have him arreſted and his troops caſhiered, were plain to every obſerver. Whether her father was conquered, or was conqueror,

* Memoirs of madame de Bonjou.

conqueror, ſhe had tears to ſhed, either for the family ſhe was born in, or for that which had adopted her. The courtiers, who were witneſſes of her ſorrow, thought her tears were rather thoſe of a Savoyard than a Frenchwoman; hence thoſe malignant cenſures and reports, which the publick eagerly received, and which the hiſtorians have preſerved to us. Madame de Maintenon, who knew the origin of all theſe malicious reports, often ſaid to her, 'Madame, if you do not 'conſtrain yourſelf, this country will be a hell for you.'

Her affection for France grew with age; ſhe was but twelve years old when ſhe left Turin; ſhe had forgot her country and her family. She muſt neceſſarily be attached to a kingdom over which her children were to reign, and her letters ſhew that ſhe was a moſt tender mother. The king's extreme fondneſs of her was a new tye; and her affection for the queen of Spain, her ſiſter, muſt certainly engage her in her party againſt a father, who was endeavouring to dethrone her, although other more powerful motives had not acted upon her mind.

However that may be, it is abſurd to believe that madame de Maintenon balanced a moment between the duke of Savoy and the king, or that ſhe ſaved Turin through regard or through compaſſion to the dutcheſs of Burgundy; yet, abſurd as theſe cenſures are, the ſtrongeſt arguments that can be urged againſt them will not be ſufficient to refute them with thoſe weak and prejudiced perſons who have admitted them as true. Lewis ſubjected his nephew to the direction of marſhal de Marſin, becauſe he was apprehenſive of the raſh courage of a young warriour, and could not rely upon the prudence of a general who had made but two campaigns and ſome reflections. The king might have been blamed for giving bad orders, but not for giving abſolute ones.

July 1.] The duke of Orleans left Paris loaded with debts which he had contracted for the good of the ſtate; paſſing by Turin he viſited the works carried on for the ſiege, and ſaw that they were very badly conducted.

conducted. The city was attacked in the ſtrongeſt place; no bomb had yet been thrown, while the beſieged battered the French camp, and their mortars filled the trenches with a ſhower of ſtones. Theſe faults were owing to La Feuillade, and theſe were alſo imputed to the dutcheſs of Burgundy. It was reported that La Feuillade had dared to caſt a profane eye upon her; but his preſumption not reaching ſo far as to declare his paſſion, he endeavoured to make her ſenſible of it by ſaving her father's capital.

The duke of Orleans found an army deſtitute of neceſſaries, waſted by ſickneſs, ill equipt, and extremely weak. That of La Feuillade, which inveſted Turin, was plentifully ſupplied with all things. Chamillard gave all his attention to his ſon-in-law. The prince demanded twenty battalions of Feuillade, and this reinforcement enabled him to oppoſe prince Eugene, who had penetrated into Piedmont, to throw ſupplies of proviſion into Turin.

The duke of Orleans arrived before him in the neighbourhood of the inveſted city. He was enraged to ſee the ſiege no farther advanced than it had been two months before; not one attack had ſucceeded; all the batteries had been ill placed; the enemy's works, which were moſt expoſed to the fire of our army, were ſtill unhurt. The Troops did not want courage, but the commander wanted ſkill. Feuillade alledged in his excuſe, that his army had been weakened by the ſupplies he had given the duke of Orleans, and that his engineers were ignorant of their buſineſs; but no one doubted that the beſieged held correſpondence with ſome perſons in our camp.

The king conſulted old Vauban upon this ſiege, who intreated his majeſty to permit him to direct the works; 'But, monſieur la maréchal,' ſaid the king, 'do not you think this employment below your dignity?' 'Sire,' anſwered Vauban, 'my greateſt dignity is to ſerve the ſtate; I will leave the marſhal's ſtaff behind me, and I may perhaps aſſiſt the duke de la Feuillade to take the city.'

The next day this man, who placed his higheſt honour in the contempt of honours, again intreated the king to ſend him to the army, and was again refuſed through reſpect and eſteem. The dutcheſs of Burgundy, who knew of this refuſal no ſooner than the whole court, was accuſed of having ſuggeſted it to madame de Maintenon, and through her to the king.

Prince Eugene, in concert with the duke of Savoy, who had joined him, reſolved to attack the duke of Orleans. The orders which they gave for the next day proved that they knew either from the camp or from Verſailles thoſe which Marſin had received to wait for them in their trenches. The duke of Orleans repreſented that the trenches had been thrown up in haſte; that the army was weakened, by the ſeveral poſts which it was neceſſary to guard; and if the lines were forced, a retreat was impoſſible.

The old officers repeated and urged the ſame arguments. Marſin then ſhewed the king's orders, in which he expreſsly forbid them to offer battle. At that inſtant a general cry of indignation was raiſed in the council. 'Well,' ſaid the duke of Orleans, 'let us 'ſuffer ourſelves to be butchered in obedience to the 'king's commands.' Was he then anſwerable for the event? a victory would have juſtified him to the king, and a ſmall defeat might have cleared him to the people; but he was perſuaded that the enemies, he had moſt reaſon to fear, were not in his camp.

The next day he was attacked: all that he had foreſeen happened; the trenches were forced; the troops diſperſed to guard different poſts were cut off in ſingle companies, and the rout was general. Marſin, aſhamed of the part he had acted, ſought death with the deſpair of a hero. The duke of Orleans, covered with his own and the enemy's blood, enraged at the flight of his men, was reduced to defend his life, and killed with his own hand all that oppoſed him; he was at length carried away from the combat; and, equally ſenſible of friendſhip as of glory, he aſked whether the abbé de Grancey, who had fallen by his ſide, ſtill lived, and whether his wounds had been dreſt before the battle was over?

It

It was rather a flight than a retreat, the artillery, ammunition, and proviſion were abandoned to the enemy. The duke of Orleans and his officers deliberated, whether to preſerve Italy they ſhould not retire under Cazal, or, to guard Dauphiné, march to Pignerol. The duke reſolved upon the latter, and was twice deceived. He received advice, that the duke of Savoy was gone to kindle the flames of war in the Cevennes, and that the paſſage to Cazal was guarded by ſix thouſand men. The duke's credulity was the cauſe of our being driven from Modena, from Mantua, and Milan, and rendered uſeleſs the victory which Médavy gained two days afterwards over the prince of Heſſe at Caſtiglione.

However, the king was ſo far from reproaching his nephew with having loſt Italy, that he only thought of comforting him for the loſs of a battle. The duke of Orleans was received as if he had been a conqueror; all were eager to ſee him, and all were ready to praiſe an unfortunate hero: but the duke, inſtead of diſſembling his reſentment, complained loudly of Feuillade, Chamillard, and the dutcheſs of Burgundy. Madame de Maintenon, whom he called the faultleſs woman, was the only perſon excepted from his complaints and threats: nor did he ever reckon her among the number of thoſe enemies, by whom he was afterwards overwhelmed.

Mean time in Germany marſhal Villars ſupported the honour of the French name. He raiſed the blockade of Fort-Lewis, his lieutenants took Druſenheim and Haguenau; he ravaged the Palatinate, executed the bold project of ſeizing the Iſle of Marquiſate, and formed another ſtill bolder for the next campaign; but his army was weak, and notwithſtanding all the advantages he had gained, he gave the enemy very little fear. He was not able to prevent the electors of Cologn and Bavaria from being put under the ban of the empire by Joſeph, who ſucceeded the emperor Leopold his father, and inherited his claims, his tyranny, his character, and his miniſters. While France was dreading an invaſion, Spain really ſuffered one. The count de Teſſé had loſt an army at Gibraltar; the Engliſh

and Dutch took every town they attacked: two proteſtant refugees carried off all the glory of this campaign, ſo fatal to Philip the Fifth. Theſe were the earl of Galway ſon of the marquis de Ruvigny, and general Carle, who learned the art of war under William the Third.

The earl of Galloway, by having always commanded in chief, is well known; general Carle, born in a village of the Cevennes, raiſed himſelf by his courage and abilities, to the higheſt honours. He ſerved at once the queen of England, the king of Portugal, and the States-General; and, alike faithful to them all, he juſtly merits to be reſcued from that oblivion, into which the higheſt merit, when not annexed to the higheſt rank, often falls. He directed the works at the ſiege of Salamanca; he defended Barcelona againſt the king of Spain, who raiſed the ſiege of that place, after the trenches had been opened before it ſeven and thirty days. It was this general who made that fine retreat from Andaluſia, ſo greatly admired by marſhal Berwick; and many other glorious actions * were performed by him, the recital of which by his nephew would be ſuſpected: but thoſe glorious actions were not performed for the ſervice of his own country.

The archduke Charles, now maſter of the greateſt part of Spain, marched to Madrid, which the king and queen immediately quitted. The people were in the utmoſt conſternation; the grandees ſwore to die faithful to Philip the Fifth; the prieſts exhorted the inhabitants to remain firm in their obedience to their unfortunate prince; tears flowed from every eye, when the queen was ſeen to depart without any equipage or train; all hearts followed her to Beſlanga, a caſtle four and twenty leagues diſtant from the capitol, whither ſhe retired.

This princeſs, who had that true courage which is founded on virtue, confirmed her huſband in his magnanimous reſolutions, and his ſubjects in their fidelity and affection to him. To ſuffer hunger and thirſt, to lye

* See Tindal's continuation of Rapin Thoyras.

lye hard, diſmiſs her ſervants, and nurſe her children herſelf, ſell her jewels, and be in want of all the neceſſaries of life; ſuch were the extremities to which ſhe was reduced, and endured all with patience: no murmur eſcaped her lips, no dejection depreſſed her mind. She ſought ſuccours on every ſide; ſhe enliſted a great number of peaſants, and would have led them on to battle, if ſhe had been permitted.

One of the miniſters alarming her upon the progreſs of the archduke, 'We have ſtill a great many cities,' replied the queen. 'But ſuppoſe we are deprived of 'them, madam?' ſaid the miniſter. 'When driven 'from the laſt,' anſwered the reſolute princeſs, 'I will go 'into the mountains, and with my children in my arms, 'clamber from rock to rock till they have killed us.'

It was but juſt that a mind ſo elevated, ſhould have an aſcendant over others: but although ſhe governed Philip, ſhe was herſelf governed by the princeſs Des Urſins, who moulded her wholly to her will, by ſoftening with all the French gaiety and ſkill in pleaſing, that languor into which the ceremonial of the palace threw a young queen, ſurrounded with grave auſtere old women, condemned to laugh by rule, and who had no other amuſement but their converſation.

Madame Des Urſins had acquired ſo much power and influence in this court, that when in the year 1704, ſhe was, at the intreaty of Lewis XIV. ſacrificed to a cabal of prieſts and ambaſſadors, and diſmiſſed from the queen's ſervice, every thing languiſhed as ſoon as ſhe had quitted Spain: the queen was oppreſſed with melancholy; the king would no longer attend to the buſineſs of the ſtate; in their letters to the king of France, they ſolicited neither for money nor troops; the princeſs Des Urſins was all they required: both earneſtly intreated that ſhe might be permitted to return; and their requeſt was at length granted, notwithſtanding the extreme averſion which Lewis always had to ambitious and intriguing women.

When the princeſs arrived again at Madrid, every thing wore a new face; hope revived, dejection was

no more, the king breathed nothing but war, the queen no longer feared being dethroned: in a word, the *camerera mayor* was received as the tutelary divinity of Spain.

If madame Des Urſins had reflected ever ſo little upon her own talents, ſhe muſt have been aſtoniſhed at the part that was given her to act, and queſtioned herſelf by what ſtrange enchantment they had been made to believe, that ſhe was capable of regulating affairs of the greateſt conſequence in a ſtate, ſhe who was conſcious that ſhe was only fitted for the little arts of cabal and intrigue. Her wit was lively and agreeable, but ſhe wanted judgment; her piety was ſuperſtitious, and her temper ſubject to innumerable caprices. Madame de Maintenon uſed to ſay, that the princeſs Des Urſins knew not how to bear either good or ill fortune.

This lady in her youth had had ſome amours which were forgot, but again recalled to remembrance when in her old age: ſhe was ſeen endeavouring to allure the marquis d'Aubigné, who was ſent ambaſſador from France to Madrid, diſputing him with the moſt beautiful of the Spaniſh ladies, and carrying him off in triumph from the moſt intriguing.

Her exceſſive pride, as well as her favour with the king and queen, rendered her odious to the grandees; they often complained of her to the queen, who not knowing that the people never behold favourites with the ſame eyes as princes do, always anſwered, that madame Des Urſins was one of the beſt women in the world. The princeſs Des Urſins paſſed one half of her life in giving advice to her ſovereigns, and the other in endeavouring to conceal from them the errors in that advice. She preſided at all deliberations of the council, without being admitted to the place where they were held: it was with her that the ambaſſadors treated; to her the generals gave an account of their ſieges, marches and battles: the miniſters of ſtate durſt not contradict her; and even Berwick feigned to have conquered only by her orders.

Cardinal Portocarrero was jealous of her power; and his creatures murmured at the domination of a woman.

a woman. The princeſs des Urſins was afraid that their murmurs ſhould reach the court of Verſailles, and that ſhe ſhould be again recalled; and that ſhe might have a ſupport againſt all her enemies, ſhe engaged the court of France in her intereſts; and inſenſibly drew to her ſide, the king who feared her, the dutcheſs of Burgundy who hated her, and madame de Maintenon who had never eſteemed her.

In all the diſpatches ſhe ſent to France, ſhe aſſumed ſo much frankneſs, humility, and rectitude of mind, that even the marquis de Torcy was perſuaded, her ſhort diſgrace had altered her diſpoſition. She had been accuſed of haughtineſs and ſeverity; ſhe now affected great gentleneſs and moderation, and always implored the king's clemency for thoſe, againſt whom ſhe endeavoured to arm his juſtice.

Lewis had often complained of the contradictions he found between her accounts of affairs, and thoſe which were given him by his ambaſſadors: ſhe now ſo well concerted all matters with them, that he thought he was ſerved with equal fidelity by her and by his envoys. Madame de Maintenon, who was extremely ſevere againſt women who wanted virtue, but perhaps too favourable to thoſe who affected it, had been irritated at her paſſion for the marquis d'Aubigné; not that ſhe believed all the reports that were ſpread againſt her, but becauſe ſhe greatly condemned thoſe faults in her conduct, which gave riſe to them. The princeſs Des Urſins, to whom love was rather an amuſement than a ſerious affair, ſent back the marquis d'Aubigné ſo ſoon, that, to the eſteem we neceſſarily have for the innocent, madame de Maintenon, joining that of compaſſion for the injured, became her ſtrongeſt ſupport.

The allies were not wiſe enough to draw any advantage from the miſunderſtanding, which the too great power and influence of a foreigner created between the Spaniards and Philip the Fifth. The archduke, who had made himſelf maſter of Madrid, was proclaimed king there by his army, but was rejected by the people. His German manners, his contempt of thoſe of

Spain, his inclination to treat like a conquered country, a country which he claimed as his own by right of birth; but eſpecially the cruelties exerciſed by the allies, alienated all hearts from him.

Philip was ſo ſecure of his people's affection, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to force the archduke to a battle: but Charles rather choſe to exhauſt all the force of his enemy by ſieges, than to hazard a battle, the loſs of which would oblige him to return to Auſtria. Towards the end of the year, Philip entered Madrid, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who had curſed his competitor. They burned the picture, the ſtandard, and the edicts of the archduke, who continued ſtill intoxicated with chimerical royalty, although convinced that he had not that claim to the crown, which enforces all others, the conſent of the people.

CHAPTER XX.

The Year 1707.

THE duke of Orleans was now ſent to Spain, and treated the princeſs Des Urſins with the moſt mortifying indifference. He had great reſpect for her ſex, but little conſideration for her power and influence; his behaviour to her was a mixture of haughtineſs and reſpect; this produced at firſt a ſecret hatred, and afterwards an open rupture.

Marſhal Berwick was more complaiſant; he ſoothed the haughty favourite, and found in her all the ſupport a man, envious like him, of a prince who came to deprive him of his command, could have expected or deſired. His endeavours to force the archduke to come to action, had been all ineffectual; he hoped to find it more eaſy to make the earl of Galloway fight, who had greater preſumption, and leſs caution. In a letter he wrote on the twenty-firſt of April to Madrid, he declared, that without waiting for a reinforcement, he would force the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Villena.

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The princeſs Des Urſins intreated the king to conceal the purport of this letter from the duke of Orleans: 'he will expoſe himſelf too much,' ſhe ſaid, 'he will 'expoſe our army; he is our laſt reſource; if both 'our generals are vanquiſhed, the troops will be diſ-'couraged;' and added a thouſand other trifling reaſons, to which the earneſtneſs of her who urged them, and the weakneſs of him who heard them, gave weight.

Mean time marſhal Berwick drew near to Almanza. At the firſt report of his march, lord Galloway quitted the ſiege of Villena to go and meet him. Marſhal Berwick expected him, and feared him ſo little, that he gave him a free paſſage. The victory was diſputed a long time. The duke of Orleans, who rather gueſſed, than knew that there would be a battle, left Madrid precipitately, and arrived juſt as the battle was almoſt over. He ſaw the enemy put into diſorder: Berwick had the glory of having conquered them, and left the duke of Orleans the honour of purſuing them. The marſhal aſſured him, with oaths, that he had been firſt attacked; the duke pretended to believe him, but ſuffered his reſentment againſt the princeſs Des Urſins to break out with violence. He complained of the court of Madrid, for ſhewing a diſtruſt of him; he was told, that they were not willing to let him hazard his perſon at that battle, and had, through friendſhip deceived him, in order to hinder his being preſent at it. The duke exclaimed againſt that friendſhip which diſhonoured him. *Marſhal Berwick*, ſaid Philip, in the letter he wrote to him upon that occaſion, *has done a great deal, but much more remains to be done, and I do not doubt but you will do it.* The princeſs Des Urſins, being informed of the hatred which the dutcheſs of Burgundy bore to the duke of Orleans, endeavoured to recommend herſelf to that princeſs, by aſſuming the merit of the affront, which was given to their common enemy. *April* 25.

Mean time the duke of Orleans was endeavouring to take a noble revenge for it, by conquering the

kingdom of Valencia. Requena, Valencia, Sarragoſſa, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Deſpiſing theſe trifling ſucceſſes, he determined to lay ſiege to Lerida, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Spain, and the ſtumbling-block of the great Condé. The two kings approved of his deſign; the heavy artillery was ſent him from France; he took poſſeſſion of all the poſts near the city, every day brought accounts of ſome new enterpriſes, and not one check. The enemy durſt not approach him, and took refuge at length under the cannon of Barcelona.

The city was inveſted; but before he began the attack, he was deſirous of being provided with every thing that could ſecure its ſucceſs. The princeſs Des Urſins protracted the arrival of the artillery and ammunition: the duke of Orleans, demanded the ammunition and proviſions which were in the kingdom of Valencia; they were denied him: he demanded carriages for the cannon; they alſo were denied: however, he opened the trenches, and nine days afterwards gave the aſſault.

The garriſon withdrew into the citadel; the duke gave up the city to be pillaged, but took ſuch wiſe meaſures, that in this act of licentious diſorder, the moſt admirable order was maintained. The citadel held out longer; the vigour with which the city had been attacked, had exhauſted the ammunition: however, the ſoldiers, animated by the hope and the deſire of plunder, were full of eager impatience to ſtorm it. The duke of Orleans, knowing the place could not be ſuccoured, choſe rather to loſe time than men. At length he made preparations for playing the mines, which obliged the prince of Darmſtadt to promiſe, that he would capitulate the next day. The duke of Orleans would give him only one hour to determine; and, by his reſolution and valour, finiſhed an enterpriſe, which he had undertaken contrary to the opinion of marſhal Berwick; and which had been traverſed by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to favour it.

The ſame day that the place ſurrendered, the duke of Orleans received orders to raiſe the ſiege. The marquis

marquis de Bay in the mean time had taken Ciudad-Rodrigo, and the duke de Noailles got poſſeſſion of Puycerda, and of all Cerdagne, and built a citadel in Puycerda, at the expence of Cerdagne.

The duke of Orleans was received at Madrid, as the deliverer of the nation. The king had always eſteemed him; four years before he had declared himſelf in his favour, when the teſtament of Charles the Second was diſputed; but the queen could never ſufficiently admire the man who preſerved the crown to her huſband. The princeſs Des Urſins exaggerated his merit in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed ſhe was apprehenſive the ſincerity of her praiſes would be doubted. The duke of Orleans enjoyed his own glory and the confuſion of his enemy, like a hero and a prince.

After having held the prince of Aſturias at the baptiſmal font, as proxy for Lewis the Fourteenth, he returned to Verſailles, where he received praiſes ſo much the more flattering to his vanity, as other generals had deſerved them.

In Germany, marſhal Villars had ſurpriſed the lines of Stolophin, and marſhal de Teſſé had obliged the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene to raiſe the ſiege of Toulon. All was now quiet in Flanders; Marlborough, inſtead of gaining a battle, went to Saxony, to engage Charles the Twelfth in the grand alliance. *If Toulon is taken*, ſaid the Swede, *I will go and retake it*; and theſe words, it was reported, determined, the allies to repaſs the Var.

Although France had been very ſucceſsful this year, yet her finances were almoſt exhauſted, and a deplorable poverty was felt over all the kingdom.

The financers were tolerated in the moſt outrageous oppreſſions. The eccleſiaſticks were commanded to exhort the people to pay the taxes regularly, and upon ſome complaints made by the farmers of the revenue, circular letters * were wrote to

* Here follows this ſingular letter compoſed by the marquis de Torcy. 'Monſieur, the king taking into 'conſideration

to all the biſhops in the kingdom, wherein they were ordered to pronounce the frauds and ſtratagems, by which contraband goods were introduced, to be mortal ſins. Such an order as this, could only be excuſed by the ſtate's being plunged into the moſt dreadful extremity; it is a monument of the abuſe of ſupreme authority, and of the clergy's abject compliance with the court, ſo long as their immunities were reſpected.

In a country where the people are governed only by laws which they make or approve, any frauds carried on againſt the juſt rights of the prince, are robberies committed upon ſociety, and equally condemned by religion and by law; but in a ſtate where the taxes are arbitrarily impoſed, to make a mortal ſin of running merchandiſe, is one of the moſt iniquitous attempts of tyranny againſt natural liberty, and the rights of conſcience: let the perſon ſo guilty be ſent to the galleys; but let him not be damned by the prieſt.

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'conſideration, the juſt remonſtrances of thoſe perſons concerned in his farms, who have for ſeveral years complained, that the frauds carried on in the cuſtoms, and the introducing of contraband merchandiſe, which is every where committed with impunity, are a great prejudice to them, has taken proper meaſures to ſtop ſuch practices for the future; and his majeſty is pleaſed to order, that you ſhould be made acquainted with his intentions, to the end that you may concur with him in his endeavours to prevent theſe frauds, which ſo greatly affect his intereſt. His Majeſty therefore expreſly enjoins you, but under the ſeal of ſecreſy, to take care that the curates and other prieſts, employed in confeſſion in your dioceſe, perform their duty in an affair of this conſequence, in which the good of the ſtate is ſo nearly concerned: I do not doubt but you will enter into theſe views, which it is not neceſſary to explain farther.'

CHAPTER XXI.

The ſiege of Liſle.

LEwis attempted to make a diverſion, by ſending the ſon of king James into Scotland. He ſaid to the duke of Berwick, when he came to take leave of him, 'You have engaged in a 'dangerous enterpriſe.' 'Sire,' replied the duke, 'my ſpeech is ready, and here are my gloves?' 1708.

This project failed; the Scotch lords were intimidated by a powerful fleet, and returned no anſwer to the ſignals made by Fourbin, who arrived happily in the frith of Edinburgh.

The duke of Orleans, at his return to Spain, finding himſelf at the head of a fine army, laid ſiege to Tortoſa. The princeſs Des Urſins again took meaſures to blaſt this deſign. The duke threatened to make her anſwerable for his ill ſucceſs; but his threats did not alarm her; the ſuccours he demanded were not ſent to him; the princeſs, in her letters to Lewis the Fourteenth, aſſured him that the duke was ſtrong enough to make head againſt the count de Staremberg, the archduke's general. Lewis, upon this information, diſpatched orders to the duke of Orleans, to ſend fifteen ſquadrons to marſhal Villars in Dauphiné. The prince did not obey: he replied, that if his army was weakened, he ſhould infallibly be beat; and obtained a revocation of the order. He procured from the neighbouring provinces of France, thoſe ſuccours which Spain refuſed to ſend him; he borrowed large ſums; he ſold his wife's jewels, and raiſed a hundred thouſand crowns upon his equipages: he neglected nothing that could ſecure his ſucceſs, and made the moſt of every advantage; and finding it impoſſible to force count Staremberg to a battle, he put him out of a condition to undertake any thing the enſuing campaign.

The princeſs Des Urſins, his implacable enemy, ſent a memorial to madame de Maintenon, in which ſhe laviſhed the moſt extravagant praiſes on him, while ſhe blackened him with accuſations; and that what he had to ſay againſt her might not gain belief, ſhe mentioned a hundred examples of his extreme credulity and weak indulgence

gence to his favourites: to alarm the king, ſhe inſinuated that the count de Bezons, the duke of Orleans's agent at Madrid, was more devoted to the nephew than the uncle; and to turn the piety of madame de Maintenon to her own advantage, ſhe related ſeveral inſtances of the duke's libertine conduct, and of his contempt for religion.

She accuſed him of having forced the king of Spain, by repeated importunities, urged with great haughtineſs, to maintain the nobility of Arragon in their privileges, which the king, for good reaſons, would have deprived them of. She made it a crime in the duke to have granted an honourable capitulation to the garriſon of Tortoſa, which he ought to have made priſoners of war; ſhe charged him with pride in accepting the canopy which had been offered him, when he entered that city; and with cruelty in making uſe of authority, when gentleneſs might have prevailed; and aſſured madame de Maintenon that he had ſpoke of Lewis XIV. with great indifference, and of Philip V. with great contempt. * Madame

* The following is a letter from madame de Maintenon, to the princeſs Des Urſins, dated November the 25th 1708.

'I had no occaſion, madam, for the memorial you 'have ſent me relating to the duke of Orleans. I 'am ſo well convinced of your candour and of the 'juſtice of all thoſe with whom he had any buſineſs, 'that if he had complained I ſhould not have doubted 'a moment of his being to blame. I will keep this 'memorial to ſhew to the king, if the affair ſhould be 'made publick; it will not be proper to let others 'ſee it, nor ſhall even his majeſty ſee it without your 'conſent. I know, madam, how greatly you eſteem 'this prince, and how juſt you are to his fame; but 'they are all too ready to give faith to their domeſtics, 'which is inſupportable to thoſe who love juſtice and 'truth: they often give me uneaſineſs. They are all 'indeed deſerving of our utmoſt love and eſteem; but 'they turn their good qualities againſt themſelves, by 'not being able to comprehend that others do not poſ-

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Madame de Maintenon immediately diſcovered, that the memorial had been wrote rather to juſtify herſelf than hurt the duke of Orleans, and ſhe reſolved to ſuppreſs it; but the prince having filled the hall of Marly with the moſt bitter complaints againſt madame Des Urſins, that princeſs intreated her friend to preſent her memorial to the king. In publick Lewis praiſed the duke of Orleans, and in private made him reproaches, againſt which he warmly defended himſelf.

The duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy, either through friendſhip for the princeſs Des Urſins, through prejudice againſt her enemy, or perhaps through regard for the king and queen of Spain, perſonally affronted by him who had reſtored them to their throne, exclaimed with the utmoſt bitterneſs againſt the duke of Orleans. This prince, who deſpiſed the efforts of his enemies to ruin him, laughed at the duke of Burgundy's unſocial piety, and ridiculed the miniſters, the generals, and the favourites; he determined to take ample revenge when it was in his power, and, in the mean time, his hatred exhaled itſelf in witticiſms. If there be any thing honourable in reſentment it is in frankly diſcovering it, provided it be not too violent.

The campaign in Flanders was only a ſeries of errors and misfortunes; the correſpondence we held in Ghent made the conqueſt of it ſecure. The king gave the duke of Burgundy the honour of this expedition. That prince had already commanded in Germany, Flanders, and Alſace, and had done nothing conſiderable; either becauſe opportunities failed him, or

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'ſeſs the ſame qualities. The king, as the eldeſt of 'the family has the greateſt ſhare of this ſincerity and 'credulity; therefore, madam, you may depend up-'on it he will not deceive his grandſon. It is certain 'that he does not think the peace ſo near as all our 'warriors deſire it; but it is alſo certain that he 'knows it is abſolutely neceſſary, which you, madam, 'would confeſs were you here.'

or that, being better qualified for the cabinet than the field, he did not take advantage of opportunities.

July 5.] He took Ghent as ſoon as he arrived, and his lieutenants got poſſeſſion of Bruges and Plaſſendal. Marſhal Villeroi, who ſuffered no errors but his own to eſcape his obſervation, foreſaw the conſequences of theſe, and ſaid plainly to madame de Maintenon, 'the 'taking of Ghent and Bruges will infallibly ruin us, 'becauſe we cannot poſſibly maintain our towns and 'cover them at the ſame time.'*

The king appointed the duke of Vendôme to aſſiſt his grandſon with his councils, in which office he joined marſhal Berwick, whom the reinforcement which came from Germany, naturally brought back to the army; but Lewis empowered the prince to decide abſolutely, when the two generals were divided in their opinions.

The duke of Burgundy was convinced that Vendôme was a hero; but his preſumption, his want of vigilance, his neglect of diſcipline, put him upon his guard againſt his advice. †

The battle of Oudenarde gave him no cauſe to change his opinion of the duke of Vendôme. The duke occupied the poſt of Leſſines; he there found Marlborough and Eugene, who had already paſſed the Scheld: Vendôme attacked them before all his troops had joined him.

The duke, hoping to repair the misfortune he had brought upon himſelf by this raſhneſs, propoſed to continue all night in the field of battle. The enemy were between him and the reſt of the army; and an entire defeat was unavoidable. His advice and his romantick courage were alike laughed at: he retired towards Ghent; and, notwithſtanding the gloſs father Daniel puts upon this action, he was beat more in the night than he had been in the day.

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* Letter from madame de Maintenon to the princeſs Des Urſins, *November* the 25th. The original is in the cabinet of cardinal Lanti, at Rome.

† Here I cloſely copy madame de Maintenon.

He might have ſeized Leſſines, a poſt of great importance, becauſe it would have cut off all communication between Oſtend and the enemy's camp; but this he did not think of till two months afterwards.

The allies now threatened Liſle with a ſiege. 'Go,' ſaid the king to marſhal Boufflers, 'go and ſhut your-'ſelf up there, and depend upon it you ſhall be ſuc-'coured.' Boufflers inſtantly departed, without ſettling his affairs, without making any demand, and even without taking leave of his family. The king left him at liberty to chuſe what lieutenants he pleaſed. Boufflers, named two men, one of whom was in diſgrace, and the other in the Baſtile; and he was but the more eſteemed, and the better ſerved for this choice.

As ſoon as Liſle was inveſted, the duke of Burgundy declared that he would go and meet the enemy. All the young officers ſaid, that if he waited for the allied army, and was attacked, he would be defeated; marſhal Berwick aſſured him, that he would loſe the army; the duke de Vendôme was of opinion, that he ought to delay his march for ſome time longer.

While heats and animoſities reigned in the French camp, the duke of Marlborough began to intrench his army. Vendôme adviſed the duke of Burgundy to attack him; marſhal Berwick oppoſed this advice, becauſe it was given by Vendôme: the duke of Burgundy, fluctuating between the councils of two men equally prudent and brave, determined to follow that which ſhewed the greateſt caution. 'But,' ſaid madame de Maintenon (whom it was reported, the duke of Burgundy by avoiding a battle, endeavoured to hinder being declared queen) 'what could be done by a 'young prince who, being deſtitute of experience, 'found himſelf engaged in the moſt difficult affair 'imaginable? how could he diſcover that the con-'queror of Almanza gave him cowardly advice, and 'that he ought to be guided by the duke de Vendôme, 'who was obnoxious to three fourths of the army; 'and that, of two ſpecious opinions, he ought to pre-

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'fer that of the general who did not poſſeſs the con-
'fidence of the king his grandfather?'

The duke of Marlborough intrenched himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that even Vendôme and Chamillard, who were always for fighting, agreed to tell the king, that it was impoſſible to offer him battle without hazarding all.

From that time the duke de Vendôme, in all his letters to the king, inſiſted that Ghent and Bruges ought to be ſupported; that they ſhould prevent the enemy's paſſage, ſtop all their convoys of proviſions and ammunition, for the troops before Liſle, and for the other fortreſſes they had diſmantled, and at length ſtarve them in their lines.

Marſhal Berwick was of opinion, that our plan was too comprehenſive; that the guard of the Scheld was too much extended; that the enemy might ſurpriſe a paſſage whenever they pleaſed; that we ought to leave Ghent, after placing a ſtrong garriſon in it, and think rather of defending ourſelves, than of attacking the enemy.

The great points were to ſend ſuccours to the beſieged, and hinder the beſiegers from receiving any from the army of obſervation. The chevalier de Luxembourg performed the firſt, and the ſecond was attempted by count de la Mothe, who was defeated at Vinendale. Mean time marſhal Boufflers, who was ſtill flattered that he ſhould be ſuccoured, made vigorous ſallies upon the beſiegers; but no longer hoping that his defence, and the duke of Burgundy's motions would agree, he expected ſafety only from his own courage. Night and day he was employed; he viſited the works, he comforted the wounded, he was preſent every where. 'Gentlemen,' ſaid he to the officers, 'I confide in you, but I will anſwer for my-
'ſelf.' A faſcine and a ſkin compoſed his bed; he was ſerved upon iron, and reſolved to eat horſe-fleſh, rather than give up the place.

Oct. 23.] Prince Eugene, who was alſo in want of proviſions, carried on the ſiege with great vigour, that he might at leaſt be maſter of the town, before his

his camp was deſolated by famine; he therefore went to give the aſſault. Marſhal Boufflers, who did not expect him, offered to capitulate: all his demands were granted, and he retired into the citadel with four thouſand ſix hundred men.

This news threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation; he had always depended upon Liſle's being ſuccoured, he had given expreſs orders for that purpoſe, he had faithfully promiſed Boufflers it ſhould, he knew the great importance of that place, he was mortified at the ſhame this loſs reflected upon the nation, and his grandſon in particular. 'He is not accuſtomed,' added madame de Maintenon, 'to ſee Liſle in the 'power of his enemies: as for myſelf, I am moſt 'ſenſibly afflicted for this loſs; but I ſhould juſtly de'ſerve to be made accountable for all the misfortunes 'I am witneſs to, if I did not acknowledge the hand 'of God in them all; and if I did not know that we 'ought to accept the evil, with the ſame gratitude 'with which we have received the good. In the midſt 'of this general diſmay and conſternation, I find my'ſelf one of the moſt courageous perſons in our court.'

Oct. 19] Hoſtilities were renewed, and the trenches were opened before the citadel. The enemy ſtill ſought to open themſelves a paſſage by ſea. Prince Eugene, aſtoniſhed at the indolence of the French army, and ſecure of compleating his conqueſt, ſaid, 'I 'will make the garriſon priſoners of war, that ſuch 'brave men may not be obliged to mix with cowards.'

Eugene's ſucceſs was entirely owing to the diſcouragements under which our troops laboured, and to the diſſenſions among our generals; and therefore, in a more advanced age, he rejected the praiſes that were given him on account of this enterpriſe, too raſhly projected to be glorious in the execution.

The elector of Bavaria propoſed to make an attempt upon Bruſſels. He had great dependence upon the friendſhip which he knew that city had for him: his projects might have ſucceeded in the middle of the campaign, when the allies were employed in the attack

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of Liſle, but theſe happy ſchemes were never formed at a time when they might be uſeful.

Although the elector had carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the day after the trenches were opened he gave the aſſault; yet he was obliged to retire upon the approach of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, who had juſt paſſed the Eſcaut with their whole army, and had put the marquis de Nangis to flight.

Boufflers ſurrendered, and obtained very favourable terms. 'It is a great honour to me,' ſaid Eugene to Boufflers, 'to have taken Liſle, but it would have 'been a greater to have defended it like you.'*

This event raiſed the murmurs of all France againſt the duke of Burgundy. His auſtere virtue gave offence to the libertines, his declared averſion for the Janſeniſts expoſed him to all the envenomed ſtrokes of that party, who were already capable of ſcandalizing princes for the glory of God. All that were enemies to the Jeſuits were enemies to him; thoſe who believe that Fenelon had ſtill a party at court, railed at the prince whom they ſuppoſed was at the head of that party.

Telemachus was now the ſubject of every one's cenſures. See, cried ſome, how this man of God has educated the heir of the throne! ſee the pacifick king he has formed for us! formerly our princes did not learn their duties in romances, and in the dreams of devotees; heroes were their maſters, and battles and dangers were the firſt leſſons they taught them.

The duke of Burgundy, ſaid others, ſuffered Liſle to be taken, that the king might be obliged to make peace, which he ſo ardently loves. Perhaps he ſuppoſed that France acquired this place unjuſtly; and he piouſly reſolved to make reſtitution of it: perhaps he would not fight, for fear of hurrying unprepared ſouls to damnation. 'No, no,' replied the duke of Orleans,

* Dangeau's memoirs.

leans, 'the God of battles has appeared to him in his 'oratory, and promiſed to ſuccour Liſle with legions 'of angels.' 'I ſhould never come to an end,' added madame de Maintenon, 'were I to repeat all that was ſaid againſt him.'

The dutcheſs of Burgundy was informed of theſe ſcandalous jeſts: oppreſſed with ſhame and grief, ſhe ran to madame de Maintenon, and falling on her neck all in tears, 'Ah! my dear aunt,' ſaid ſhe, how ſen-'ſibly do I feel the misfortunes of France, and with 'what ſorrow does the duke of Burgundy's inglorious 'conduct fill me!' 'Theſe tears,' ſaid madame de Maintenon to her, 'are too precious to be loſt,' and wiping them off with the ribbon of her diſtaff, ſhe ſent it to the duke of Burgundy. Thus did ſhe make uſe of every thing, to confirm the affection between this princeſs and her huſband.

The duke of Burgundy never thought of juſtifying himſelf. He employed no perſon to defend his conduct; his wife ſuffered him to be ignorant of none of the ſlanders that were raiſed againſt him; and found by his anſwers, that thoſe ſlanders were carried from the army to the court, and that he was as little moved with what was ſaid in his camp, as at Verſailles. 'I 'ſhould believe,' ſaid he, in one of his letters to his wife, 'that I ſhould be criminal towards my country 'and my grandfather, if my ſentiments were for one 'moment ſuch as are attributed to me.'

'The princeſs,' adds madame de Maintenon, 'did 'not ſhew me her huſband's letters; I only ſaw ſuch 'articles in them as were but ſlightly touched: what 'I have ſeen of moſt importance is, that he is greatly 'intereſted in the honour and happineſs of the king of 'Spain; however, it is certain that he wiſhes for 'peace, and in that ſurely he cannot be blamed; we 'ſhould love our princeſs too well, if we knew all her 'merit.'

When the duke of Burgundy and marſhal Villars returned to court, the prince ſeemed a private man, and the private man a prince; we were then in that kind of

of anarchy, when men are judged of and diſtinguiſhed only by their actions. Boufflers was made a peer of France: he was attended to the parliament by great numbers of the officers who had defended Liſle with him. 'Gentlemen,' ſaid he turning towards them, 'all the favours I receive, all the honours that are beſtowed on me, I owe to you; I have no other merit, 'no other diſtinction, than in having commanded ſuch 'brave men.'*

CHAPTER XXII.

The year 1709.

FRance was at once exhauſted by war, and deſolated by famine; that winter when men, animals, and trees, periſhed alike, will be long remembred. The financers, after reducing Paris to the utmoſt want, now nouriſhed her. In many cities the inhabitants mutinied, the country was laid waſte, and nine million of taxes were remitted to the people. The king ſent his plate to be coined; his grandſon had already given him the example; the duke of Burgundy gave away in alms, thoſe ſums which were deſtined for his pleaſures; and the king of Spain confined himſelf to mere neceſſaries.†

Chamillard,

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* The marquis de Dangeau's memoirs.

† The following is a letter from madame de Maintenon to the princeſs Des Urſins. 'Every body here 'ſeems to approve of your not recalling the *menines*; 'they are not ſo neceſſary to the king as his troops 'and in a conjuncture like this, it is the wiſeſt way to 'get rid of them. I do not doubt but the grandees 'will complain of this conduct; abatements in expence are approved of in general, but no individual 'is willing that abatement ſhould fall upon him. I am 'rejoiced that you have no longer three hundred women to govern.

Chamillard, who had exhauſted every expedient, now ſighed for peace. Deſmarêts, to whom he had yielded the management of the finances, declared that he could not furniſh ſupplies for more than one campaign; the general officers had no longer courage or hope. The king was the only perſon who did not think Marlborough and Eugene invincible; he attributed all his loſſes to the inability or diſunion of thoſe who had commanded his armies; he knew that one victory was ſufficient to break a league.

But the king, ſenſibly afflicted at the miſery of his people, determined to aſk for peace, and to prefer the welfare of his kingdom to the glory of his family. He had already made ſome attempts to withdraw the duke of Savoy from the confederacy; that prince being embroiled with prince Eugene, diſſatisfied with the emperor, and fallen into devotion, which however, did not awaken in him the ſentiments of nature. Lewis had propoſed to the pope, to form a league with the duke of Savoy in Italy; but Victor-Amadeus, weary of betraying his allies, rejected theſe propoſitions: and Clement XI. replied, that he could no otherwiſe concur in the pacification of Europe, than by his prayers.

This common father of Chriſtians, always a friend to the moſt powerful, had, when the archduke waſted the kingdom of Naples, acknowledged him for king of Spain; but he wrote to Philip V. that by acknowledging his competitor, he gave him no new right: an apology as inſulting as offenſive.

The king now reduced to humble himſelf before his enemies, ſent the preſident Rouillé and the marquis de Torcy to the Hague, to know upon what condition the allies would grant him peace. Heinſius, the penſionary of Holland, being gained over by Marlborough and Eugene, the miniſters of Lewis received from the ſtates only general profeſſions of reſpect and repeated hardſhips. The king offered to abandon his grandſon; the allies inſiſted as a preliminary that he ſhould dethrone him.

When

When the marquis de Torcy returned to France great debates aroſe in the council; but all agreed, that whether peace or war was reſolved on, the troops from Spain ought to be recalled, and all the forces of the French monarchy ſhould be united to defend the frontiers; ſome of the counſellors even inſinuated that peace could not be purchaſed at too high a price, and Chamillard declared that the kingdom would be given up to pillage in ſix months. 'Well,' replied the king, who had hitherto liſtened in ſilence, 'be that as it 'may.'

The unreaſonable preliminaries * exacted by the inſolent enemy were made known in the armies and provinces. All who had any French blood in their veins, were enraged; from that moment the glory of the monarch became the glory of the nation.

The people who had been depreſſed with their loſſes, were now animated to new courage by deſpair. All, even the courtiers, breathed a citizen ſpirit. In the provinces, where the famine raged with moſt violence, the youth ran in crouds to enliſt themſelves, in hopes of finding proviſions in the army. Villars, whom envy inceſſantly employed all her efforts to exclude from ſervice, was ſent to command in Flanders; and Boufflers, although a more antient marſhal of France than he, went to ſerve under him.

When the Spaniards were informed of the propoſitions made by Lewis, and thoſe which he had rejected, they declared that it was not the king of France who had given them a king, and it ſhould not be he who ſhould deprive them of one: however the princeſs Des Urſins had orders from the court of France to prepare Philip V. for this abdication.

The

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* The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, to bring in a fine phraſe, aſſures us that theſe preliminaries were poſted up in every ſtreet of Paris. It is very ſurpriſing, however, that he ſhould be the only perſon who ſaw this.

The grandees now turned their eyes upon the duke of Orleans, whoſe thoughts were wholly employed upon enforcing his claim. Madame Des Urſins, apprehenſive that the preſence of the prince would augment the number of his partizans, prevailed upon Philip to write to his grandfather, and intreat him not to ſend the duke of Orleans again into Spain. The duke, offended at this affront, ordered Deſlandes, his agent at Madrid, to cultivate the favourable ſentiments which ſome of the grandees entertained for him. Deſlandes, a man of great ſubtlety and reſolution, at firſt openly mentioned his maſter's rights, and afterwards caballed in ſecret to ſupport them.

When he ſounded the inclinations of the Spaniards, he thought he could perceive that they would not only prefer the duke of Orleans to the archduke Charles, but alſo to Philip V. His project advanced daily; the duke of Orleans neither ordered nor forbid him to act according to the new hopes he had received; but neither he nor his creatures any longer declared in France that it was impoſſible to preſerve Spain.

Mean time the inhabitants of Paris murmured at the ſcarcity of bread; they ſent ſome of the worſt to madame de Maintenon, and threatened to ſtone her. 'It is better,' ſaid ſhe, 'that they ſhould murmur 'againſt me than againſt their maſter.'*

Madame de Maintenon was never more hated by the people, and was never more deſerving of their love. She diſtributed money with an unſparing hand; ſhe provided for the Urſuline nuns of Mantes and Niort, the Benedictines of Bizy and Moret, and the Bernardines of Gomer-fontaine. Thoſe whom the recital of good works engage to do them, will not think the following detail tedious, in which one of madame de Maintenon's pupils gives an artleſs account of the charities to which ſhe was a witneſs.

'Madame wept when ever ſhe thought of the mi-'ſery the people endured; and ſhe thought of it eve-'ry day. If I have been ſo happy as to gain her

* Madame de Bouju's Memoirs.

'eſteem, I owe it to the compaſſion ſhe heard me expreſs for a gentleman, whoſe daughter was in the 'community of Saint-Cyr.' 'The people,' ſaid ſhe to me, 'ought to love me; for I love them tenderly, 'and would willingly offer myſelf to God to ſatisfy 'his juſtice, by which France is puniſhed.

'She cauſed bread and other proviſions, with beds 'and coverings, to be diſtributed among the poor in 'the pariſh of Verſailles. She would often go herſelf 'to diſtribute them, and always endeavoured to conceal herſelf from their knowledge.' 'I am very 'unfortunate,' ſaid ſhe one day to me, 'what little 'good I do is known to every body.' 'She often 'came home without her gloves and ſcarf, having 'given them to the beggars ſhe met in her way. She 'reproached herſelf for all her own expences, ſaying, 'This I owe to our poor.

'When ſhe could not viſit thoſe families of whom 'ſhe particularly took care, ſhe uſed to ſend me to 'them, and was more attentive to the news I brought 'from them, than to the diſcourſe of the miniſters upon 'ſtate-affairs. When ſhe met with any trouble or 'diſappointment ſhe would go and ſee her poor. 'Among them her countenance expreſſed a ſurpriſing 'chearfulneſs, which vaniſhed the moment ſhe entered 'the court.

'I went one day with her to viſit the widow of a 'lieutenant-governor; this woman, not knowing madame de Maintenon, inſtantly roſe, and then reſuming her ſeat, related all her misfortunes to her. I 'aſked her if ſhe had not applied to madame de Maintenon for relief?' 'Yes,' anſwered ſhe, 'a valet 'de chambre has promiſed me to preſent a petition to 'her; ſhe is ſaid to be a very charitable lady; but I 'have not been able to go to her myſelf; I am faint 'for want of food, and have eat nothing theſe two 'days. Madame de Maintenon burſt into tears, gave 'her a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſupported her 'till ſhe died, without ever letting her know who was 'her benefactor.'

'Madame

'Madame de Maintenon enquired herſelf for nurſes 'for poor children, and rewarded them liberally when 'they brought them to her in good health. In her 'journies, when ſhe met any poor women upon the 'road, who looked ſickly, ſhe took them into her 'coach. I could not bear to ſit near them; but ma-'dame ſaw them without diſguſt; on her arrival ſhe 'would order them victuals, and gave them money 'when they went away. Certainly, ſaid ſhe often to 'me, God is infinitely good to promiſe to reward our 'charities, ſince in themſelves they are a ſufficient 'reward.'

'When the court was at Fontainebleau, ſhe went 'almoſt every day to the village of Avon. Having 'ſtopped once at a houſe belonging to the count de 'Toulouſe, ſhe would not walk in the gardens, ſaying, 'I muſt keep my ſtrength to viſit my poor. At Avon 'ſhe uſed to employ herſelf in teaching the catechiſm 'to the children, in beſtowing charities, and in mar-'rying the young people.

'Madame once ſaid to me, the king ſays I kill 'myſelf with fatigue at Avon; yet if I am now ca-'pable of enjoying any amuſement it is in viſiting my 'peaſants. I am pleaſed with every thing that paſſes 'in their houſes; their converſation delights me; a 'trifle relieves their diſtreſs, a trifle excites their 'joy; is not this employment better than to ſit and 'liſten to the calumnies of theſe ladies here, againſt 'each other, or to the complaints made by the gene-'rals againſt the miniſters?

'I have ſlept till ſeven o'clock to-day, which ſeldom 'happens, for madame runs in the morning to church, 'and from thence goes to viſit her philoſophers at 'Avon. They are ſo familiar with her that they turn 'her about, puſh her, and throw themſelves upon her 'petticoats, continually admiring her royal hands 'which they always ſee full of money.

'She is at play to-day in her cabinet, and plays 'for them. She is pious in her amuſements as well 'as her labours, and filled with a love of God ſo ar-'dent, that it ſometimes draws tears from my eyes.

'All this is incomprehenſible, for moſt people here 'have hearts of ſteel.'

While madame de Maintenon relieved ſome miſerable wretches, ſhe inſpired the king with a deſire to relieve all by a ſpeedy peace. Marſhal Villars reduced the allies to the neceſſity of laying ſiege to Tournay; and covered Arras and Douay, which if taken would have laid France open to the enemy.

Sept. 11.] Tournay being taken, Marlborough and Eugene paſſed the Scheld, and threatned Mons. Villars was ſome time in doubt whether he ſhould offer them battle. His army was ſuperiour to that of the enemy, part of their troops being ſtill under Tournay; but this army was the laſt reſource of France. Marlborough was, or appeared to be more bold; he attacked the French in their intrenchments at Malplaquet, and a bloody battle enſued.

The French were victorious from eight o'clock in the morning till noon; but the enemy, who had been repulſed in the three firſt attacks, entered the intrenchments at the fourth. Marſhal Villars haſtens to the fight, drives them back, is wounded in the knee, and carried out of the throng. The allies penetrate into the center; ſix times they are vigorouſly charged by the houſhold troops, and ſix times they rally, favoured by their infantry. The intrenchments at length are forced, and Boufflers ſounded a retreat, which he performed with as much order as he had ſhewn valour in the action.

If Villars had not been wounded the battle would have been gained; but if Boufflers had not condeſcended to be his aid de camp, France would have been ruined: valour defended our country, but it was virtue that ſaved it.

The allies accuſed Villars of having wounded himſelf; and the French ſaid, that his hurt was very inconſiderable, and that he had withdrawn too ſoon: however, he was ſo ill that it was thought neceſſary to adminiſter the ſacraments to him. His friends propoſed that he ſhould perform this ceremony privately.

'No,'

'No,' replied he, 'ſince the army did not ſee Villars 'fall like a ſoldier, it is fit they ſhould ſee him die like 'a chriſtian.'

The enemy laid ſiege to Mons and took it. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage the battle of Malplaquet was glorious and uſeful to France: it reſtored the reputation of the French arms, which had fallen into contempt; it raiſed the courage of our troops, and gave fears to the enemy; it raiſed the value of thoſe little victories, which the count du Bourg, the marquis de Bai, and the duke de Noailles, gained at Ramarſheim, at Gudina, and at Figuieres: we were reduced to that deplorable extremity, when hope is nouriſhed by the moſt inconſiderable ſucceſſes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Propoſals for peace. The affairs of Spain.

1710.] LEWIS, after having demanded peace, was reduced to beg it, and after having begged it to purchaſe it. He ſent marſhal d'Huxelles and the abbé de Polignac to Gertrudenburg, a little town where the allies conſented to treat. If it had been poſſible to have procured peace upon advantageous terms, theſe two plenipotentiaries would have done it. The ſincerity and frankneſs of Huxelles, were happily tempered by the engaging manners and conſummate addreſs of Polignac, the firſt man of the age for eloquence and the art of negociation.

Marſhal d'Huxelles, impatient, bold, and preſumptuous, was well fitted to repreſent the perſon of a king, who, in the midſt of all his reverſes of fortune, ſtill preſerved his former haughtineſs; and France had as proper a repreſentative in Polignac, demanding favour, but not willing to accept it upon ſhameful conditions, and full of hopes ſtill to obtain it honourably, by her ſword or by her ſkill.

Their firſt offers were, that Lewis XIV. ſhould abandon his grandſon, and all the acquiſitions he had made

during the war. The allies deſpiſed theſe offers, and inſiſted that the king himſelf ſhould take the crown of Spain from his grandſon, and place it on the head of the archduke. The two plenipotentiaries afterwards offered the good offices of their maſter with Philip V. to prevail upon him to make a voluntary abdication; and at length they agreed to furniſh money and troops, to oblige him to it.

Then it was that a Dutch wit publiſhed a ſatire, intitled *The king of France at the knees of Holland.* It was a parody on a lyrick poem of La Volpilliere's, the title of which was *Holland at the knees of the king of France.* Theſe two pieces ſhew to what inſolence of pride, proſperity will carry the moſt polite, as well as the moſt moderate people; for they expreſſed the natural ſentiments of each nation, in the ſame circumſtances.

But the Engliſh, as aukward in jeſting as brave in the field, ſhewed moſt eagerneſs to inſult our misfortunes. Their gazettes * were full of feigned letters from the abbe de Polignac, the marquis de Torcy, and particularly from madame de Maintenon, which they pretended had been intercepted; they aſcribed ſubmiſſions the moſt humiliating for Lewis the Fourteenth, to thoſe who were the neareſt witneſſes of his courage and fortitude.

The allies were inflexible. Marlborough, who feared nothing but a peace, made demands which were likely to eternize a war, in which he acquired glory; and what he loved ſtill better, money, which, it was reported, he deſtined for an enterpriſe chimerical without doubt, if men were not to be purchaſed.

The allies demanded that Lewis the Fourteenth ſhould, by his own arms, in the ſpace of two months, dethrone his grandſon, and relinquiſh all the provinces with which his kingdom had been aggrandiſed ſince the reign of Francis the Firſt: what more could they have exacted, if they had penetrated into the heart of

* See the Craftſman.

of France? The conferences were broke off; and the nation reſolved to ſhed ſtill more blood, ſince blood muſt be ſhed.

The extravagant and unjuſt demands of the allies, were condemned by all wiſe politicians: an opportunity of humbling a powerful people ſeldom preſents itſelf twice; but biſhop Burnet ventured to maintain, that the king of France ought in conſcience to have accepted theſe conditions; ſince it was he who had committed the evil, it was his part to make reparation for it. This man found in every page of his goſpel, ſentences againſt Lewis the Fourteenth.

In Flanders the French loſt towns, and the allies loſt men; but in Spain the battle of Saragoſſa, gained by Staremberg, forced Philip the Fifth to leave Madrid a ſecond time. Lewis had withdrawn his troops from Spain; the dukes of Vendôme and Noailles were now ſent to that kingdom; the grandees deliberated concerning the rank that was to be given to the duke of Vendôme. 'I ſhall be ſatisfied with any rank,' ſaid Vendôme to to them, 'I do not come to diſpute precedence with 'you, but to preſerve your king.'

After the arrival of theſe two generals, the face of affairs was entirely changed. The Spaniards choſe rather to burn their corn-fields and proviſions, than to ſupply the Imperialiſts with them; the archduke was again driven out of Madrid; Balaguer was ſurpriſed and its fortreſs raſed by Louvigny; Brihuega was ſeized by the duke of Vendôme; Lampourdan was occupied by the duke de Noailles, who had lately ſaved the province of Languedoc, and preſerved it with thoſe troops only which he had raiſed upon his own credit; count Staremberg was defeated at Vallavicioſa, Philip fixed upon the throne of Spain, and put into a condition to maintain himſelf on it by his own forces.

During theſe events, the court of France was full of intrigues, which were likely to have a great influence upon the general ſtate of affairs. The king declared his intention of marrying the duke of Berry; the

duke and dutcheſs of Orleans offered their daughter: the dutcheſs of Burgundy propoſed the princeſs of England *, as well through her friendſhip for this princeſs, as her hatred to the duke of Orleans. Madame de Maintenon was expoſed to the importunate ſolicitations of both parties, and endeavoured to reconcile them, but in vain.

The queen of England conjured her to form thoſe ties, which would ſecure to her unfortunate family the protection of France. Madame de Maintenon's friendſhip for this queen, her compaſſion for the princeſs her daughter, her averſion to the princeſs of Orleans, whoſe beauty was indeed faultleſs, but her reputation not unblemiſhed, all inclined her to ſerve the queen of England in this affair; but the good of the ſtate oppoſed theſe ſentiments. Such an alliance muſt neceſſarily be diſpleaſing to queen Anne, with whom a ſecret negociation was carrying on at that time, and whom it was neceſſary to manage with great caution, although ſince the death of her ſon, ſhe ſeemed to indulge the pleaſure of believing ſhe had a brother. She affected to enter into the paſſions of her people, and ſhewed her indifference for the proſcribed family, by breaking off the negociations. France had need of the ſupport or compaſſion of all nations; and this marriage would have irritated the moſt powerful and the moſt implacable.

The dutcheſs of Burgundy, ſwayed more by the motions of her own heart, than by reaſons of ſtate, inceſſantly extolled the merit of her friend, and decried the princeſs of Orleans. The duke of Orleans ſometimes admitted his daughter to his voluptuous ſuppers; there, notwithſtanding the reſpect that is due to youth, many free expreſſions eſcaped him, which ſunk deep into the mind of a young girl naturally inclined to gallantry. Madame de Marey, governeſs to the

* Louiſſa-Maria Stuart, daughter of James II. who died April 18, 1712, in the twentieth year of her age.

the young princeſs, had gained her affection by compliances with her humour, rather than merited it by a judicious ſeverity.

Madame de Maintenon had been informed of ſome little imprudences in the conduct of the princeſs, and the governeſs had been ſeverely reprimanded for her neglect. The dutcheſs of Burgundy once reſolved to acquaint the king, with what ſhe knew to the diſadvantage of the princeſs of Orleans: but the king had ſo plainly declared againſt the marriage of the duke of Berry with the princeſs of England, that ſhe was apprehenſive of weakening her own intereſt with him, without hurting her enemy.

Already a woman of quality had been threatened with baniſhment from the court, for having innocently rallied the chevalier de St. George upon the melancholy of his ſiſter, who was ſhut up in the convent at Chaillot, and hinted ſomething relating to this marriage. The duke of Orleans vowed an eternal hatred to the dutcheſs of Burgundy; and, ſecure that his daughter's marriage with the duke of Berry would take place, he waited with indifference till the king propoſed it to him.

When the marriage was declared, it gave general ſurpriſe, that a ſon of France ſhould eſpouſe the granddaughter of madame de Monteſpan. The nuptials were celebrated without joy; the dutcheſs of Burgundy was deſired to regulate the houſhold of her ſiſter-in-law: the dutcheſs of Orleans, who afterwards diſputed precedence with the dutcheſs of Berry, then yielded it to her without murmuring. Both happening to be at the door, the dutcheſs of Orleans inſiſted upon the dutcheſs of Berry's going out firſt: 'You muſt 'puſh me then, madam,' ſaid the dutcheſs of Berry, 'for it will be long ere I can conſent to take way of 'my grandmother.'

While the duke of Orleans was thus ſucceſsful in the court of France, his ambition raiſed a ſtorm againſt him in the court of Spain, in which he narrowly eſcaped ruin. Miguel de Pons accuſed Deſlandes to

madame Des Urſins of having entered into a conſpiracy againſt Philip the Fifth. The princeſs Des Urſins ran eagerly to the king of Spain's apartment, exaggerated the danger, the attrociouſneſs of the crime, and the number of the accomplices. Deſlandes was arreſted at Golomedo: Flotte his friend was taken in a town of Arragon. Among their papers was found a long memoir upon the means of ſecuring the crown of Spain to the duke of Orleans. When confronted with Miguel de Pons, they denied their having any deſign to dethrone Philip the Fifth, but owned that they had caballed for the duke of Orleans againſt the archduke.

At this news, ſeveral of the grandees laid a ſcheme to deliver Flotte and Deſlandes from priſon, leſt, allured by promiſes, or intimidated by threats, they ſhould be prevailed upon to reveal the names of their accomplices. Grimaldo the ſecretary of ſtate was informed of their deſign. The princeſs Des Urſins, either becauſe ſhe was really alarmed, or wanted an excuſe for her cruelty, ſhewed great uneaſineſs and terror, cauſed the priſoners to be transferred to the tower of Segovia, and confined in ſeparate dungeons.

The duke of Medina-Celi, being convicted of having favoured the archduke, was ſuſpected of having ſold his intereſt to the duke of Orleans. Don Manrique-Lara, an old general officer and *menin* to the queen-mother, was led publickly to priſon. He confeſſed that he had entered into the deſigns of Deſlandes, but affirmed that theſe deſigns ſuppoſed the voluntary abdication of Philip the Fifth: in effect, the memoir which had been found among his papers began thus, *If Philip the Fifth ſhould abandon us.*

Antonio de Villa-Roel and ſeveral other noblemen, being convinced that there was a deſign to arreſt them, put themſelves under the protection of the archduke. It was then no longer doubted, that the ſchemes of the conſpirators were rather to dethrone Philip than exclude the archduke. It was affirmed, that Deſlandes was to be ſent to Portugal; that his friends were to ſet fire to Madrid in four different places; that Flotte was

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to ſeize upon Lerida; that Villa-Roel was to make an inſurrection in Arragon; and that the duke of Orleans was to leave the court of France ſecretly, head his party, and treat with the maritime powers, who were diſguſted with the archduke, for the ſucceſſion to Spain.

Theſe reports flew from mouth to mouth; all was repeated, exaggerated, and believed. In Spain the publick ſuſpected the truth of a plot, which had been diſcovered by the princeſs Des Urſins; in France, where no one is criminal by halves, the duke of Orleans was accuſed of the blackeſt treachery. Some aſſerted that he had deſigned to diſmember the monarchy, others that he aſpired to the whole ſucceſſion. It was not doubted, but his accomplices had already ſuffered a cruel death; and every one was perſuaded, that the prince himſelf would be ſent to the Baſtile.

In the midſt of the affirmations of truth, with the calumnies of envy and malice, the duke of Orleans, terrified with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, yet full of ſeeming confidence and ſecurity, was more aſſiduous than ever in his attendance at court; ſaw himſelf ſhunned, deteſted, ſcorned, and ſaid not one word in his own defence.

The king, fully convinced of his nephew's guilt, was going to ſign an order for arreſting him, when madame de Maintenon, who, in an affair ſo delicate and obſcure, had impoſed ſilence upon herſelf, engaged monſieur Voiſin to pacify the king. Voiſin repreſented to him, that the depoſitions againſt the prince were vague and uncertain; that, in a matter of ſuch great conſequence, precipitate meaſures might be dangerous, but that caution could not.

Madame de Maintenon never boaſted of this ſervice to the duke of Orleans, yet doubtleſs ſhe thought of it, when ſhe afterwards ſaid, 'Ah, if the duke of 'Orleans knew all the obligations he has to me!' Faithful to the neutrality ſhe had reſolved to obſerve, ſhe anſwered the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who, giving free vent to her rage againſt the accuſed prince, endeavoured to make her declare herſelf likewiſe to his prejudice,

dice, 'The reſpect I owe to the king's nephew, will 'not permit me to ſpeak;' and to the dutcheſs of Orleans, who conjured her to protect her ſon, 'The re-'ſpect I owe to Philip the Fifth obliges me to ſilence.'

The duke of Orleans was now abandoned by his friends: the abbé du Bois was the only perſon who ventured to defend him. The abbé affirmed, that the deſign of dethroning Philip the Fifth, was a chimera and a malicious calumny; that Deſlandes was an enemy only to the archduke; that he had no orders for caballing as he had done; and that his only crime was the having offended madame Des Urſins: however this may be, the king intreated his grandſon to drop the affair.

This moderation, and the ſeeming reconciliation between the king of Spain and the duke of Orleans, would have rendered the fact doubtful, if the ſilence of the accuſed prince had not tacitly acknowledged his guilt. How far that guilt was carried is ſtill uncertain; perhaps he was only guilty of having ſupported his pretenſions to the crown of Spain, unknown to the king of France and Philip V; perhaps his agent had exceeded his orders.

But if the duke of Orleans had been innocent, would he not have diſapproved the undertaking of his friends? would he not have demanded that his conduct ſhould be ſtrictly examined into? would he not have ſollicited either for the enlargement or puniſhment of Flotte and Deſlandes? would he have permitted his uncle to entertain ſuſpicions ſo diſhonourable to him? would he not at leaſt have juſtified himſelf to Lewis? would a man, ſo jealous of his reputation, have ſuffered all Europe to look upon him as a traitor?

It was pretended, that the king was at laſt convinced he had wronged his nephew by his ſuſpicions; and this the favourers of that prince attempted to prove, by the king's deſiring his grandſon, ſome time before his death, to releaſe the conſpirators. But this deſire was rather an effect of his policy, than his conviction of the duke's innocence; and it is certain, that, in the year 1713, he was not yet undeceived.

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The king, about that time, was desirous of concluding a double marriage between the duke of Bourbon and mademoiselle de Conti, and the prince of Conti and mademoiselle de Bourbon; and being informed that the duke of Orleans was secretly endeavouring to traverse the design, he sent for him into his cabinet, and thus spoke to him, 'I am surprised, monsieur, that, after having pardoned you for an action 'which might have affected your life, you should 'have the insolence and ingratitude, to cabal in my 'own family against me.'

1711.] It was to the negociations of the duke de Noailles, that the king of Spain owed the succours he then received from France; and it was likewise to the courage and resolution of that nobleman, that he owed the surrender of Gironne. This town, which had by mere fortuitous events been delivered from several sieges, hoped to be now preserved by the immediate assistance of heaven. The camp of the besiegers had, by very extraordinary and unusual rains, been overflowed; forty seven squadrons, and eight battalions were shut up by the waters, without bread or forage. The duke de Noailles struggled against the fury of the elements; his friends conjured him to raise the siege, but he still continued it; a cannon-ball fell close to him, as he was examining a battery erected against the Gironelle tower, from which the trenches had suffered greatly. The duke, when he heard the whistling of the ball, said to Rigolo, who commanded the artillery and was deaf, 'did you hear this musick?' 'I never,' replied Rigolo, give any attention 'to what comes from the enemy, my thoughts are fix-'ed upon what we send to them.'

When the rains had ceased, the lower town was attacked and carried by storm, and three days afterwards the upper town surrendered upon terms; and Arragon was totally reduced under the obedience of Philip the Fifth.

This action was so great and so important in itself, flattery so exaggerated every glorious circumstance of it, the duke de Noailles had then so few enemies, that

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it was thought he would have been created a marſhal of France; but madame de Maintenon, who with ardor ſollicited this reward for her friend, ſaid not a word in favour of her nephew.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Negotiations. The Campaign of Flanders. Congreſs of Utrecht.

1711.] IN Flanders the duke of Marlborough, reſtrained by the orders of queen Anne, endeavoured in vain to draw marſhal Villars to a battle, and only took Bouchain. The whig miniſtry, of which Marlborough was the ſoul, was driven out by the tories. His friends loſt their employments, and his wife was in diſgrace with the queen.

The Engliſh had begun to perceive that they only ſupported the expences of a war, by which they alone had nothing to gain; however the article of the treaties was preciſe; an eſtabliſhment muſt be procured for the archduke. The duke of Marlborough had ſtill many powerful friends; the offers of Lewis were recent, and he had not by victories acquired a right to retract them.

Queen Anne was therefore obliged to obſerve the ſettled ſyſtem; but her council now purſued thoſe meaſures through decency, which they had formerly purſued through reſentment. England had hitherto employed all her forces; ſhe was now ſparing of them; ſhe had animated the league; ſhe now contented herſelf with ſeconding it; ſhe had dictated all the particular tteaties; ſhe now laughed at the project of invading and dividing France.

The queen, delivered from the tyranny of the dutcheſs of Marlborough *, and wholly ſwayed by the

* The author of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth attributes the dutcheſs of Marlborough's diſgrace to a female quarrel about a pair of gloves. See other cauſes of it in the dutcheſs of Marlborough's own Memoirs.

the councils of Mrs. Maſham, who was ſecretly a jacobite, waited for an opportunity to put an end to a war upon which her conſcience had been alarmed. Perhaps ſhe had an eſteem for the protector of her unfortunate brother; perhaps ſhe hoped that a peace would furniſh her with expedients for re-eſtabliſhing the Stuarts upon the throne, and excluding the foreign prince, whom the act of ſucceſſion called to it.

The death of the emperor Joſeph wound up this bloody tragedy; he left no ſons, and the archduke Charles, his brother, was his only heir. When the duke of Savoy heard of this news, he ſhut himſelf up three days, to deliberate upon the reſolution he ought to take. Queen Anne was overjoyed at an incident that was likely to give her peace. The princes of the empire, notwithſtanding that natural averſion which vaſſals always feel for a too powerful lord, acknowledged the archduke for emperor of Germany and king of Spain. By politicians it was thought that Europe would never ſuffer another Charles V. The Dutch either through that ſlowneſs in changing their plan of politicks, which is a fault peculiar to republicks, or through the hope of acquiring the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries, promiſed the Auſtrians to obſerve inviolably the treaty of the grand alliance. *April* 17.

When ſurpriſe had given place to reflection, the moſt inveterate enemies of France, perceived that fortune would raiſe again her ſinking ſtate, and that policy made it neceſſary ſhe ſhould not be abſolutely depreſſed. The archduke Charles united in his perſon that power which Lewis XIV. had divided among his family. The archduke was now become the enemy of the European ballance, and all its nations ought now to join againſt this univerſal monarch, with ſo much the more ardor, as that in taking arms againſt Lewis XIV. they fought for their poſterity, but at preſent for themſelves. A million of men had fallen to prevent an uncertain event; and the death of one man had produced it.

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The abbé Gautier, who carried on his negotiation with vigor at the court of London, enforced theſe conſiderations with all the art of a politician. It was ſaid, that queen Anne's miniſters had been bribed by Lewis; but at a time when France was ſcarce able to ſupport her king, how was it poſſible ſhe ſhould find money to pay traitors of this high rank?

The contempt which Lewis expreſſed for lord Bolingbroke, is a ſufficient proof that he was not in the number of his penſioners: a ſervice of that kind would have engaged the gratitude of this prince; nor could all the deteſtation due to treachery have hindered that gratitude from ſhewing itſelf; however, if we may judge of Bolingbroke's character by his *Memoirs*, he appears capable of any thing.

The conferences, which were reſumed by Ménager and Prior, ended in offered preliminaries, in which there was nothing humiliating for France. Lord Strafford communicated them to the allies, who complained of this particular peace, as of a publick infraction of that article in the grand alliance, which admitted only a general one. The Engliſh miniſter was more certain of being able to force them to ſubſcribe to a peace, than of perſuading his own nation to conſent to it.

Marlborough, to whom his own intereſts were very precious, and thoſe of human kind very indifferent, breathed nothing but war, and aſſerted, that this peace was diſgraceful to the nation. The ineffectual clamours of his party againſt it, were at length reduced to cavils at the conditions. The duke of Marlborough loſt all his employments: an inconſiderable loſs after ſo many glorious and lucrative campaigns, and in that happy country where a man is ſtill ſomething, notwithſtanding the frown of his prince.

The people did not regret the fall of a citizen, whoſe ſword was now become uſeleſs to them, and whoſe counſels were dangerous. The wiſe, who admired the hero, but could pity the man of honour only, remembered that Marlborough had been the friend of James II. and had carried his ſubmiſſion to him

him ſo far as to favour his amour with Mrs. Churchill *, his ſiſter, and had rather betrayed than quitted that unfortunate prince †, that he had been juſtly in diſgrace with king William; and that, when loaded with honours and riches by queen Anne, he had continually caballed againſt her.

The congreſs was held at Utrecht; all the princes except Philip V. ſent their miniſters thither. They diſputed about trifles, while the articles of greateſt importance were diſcuſſed in the cabinets of Verſailles and London. Mean time hoſtilities were continued; the Imperialiſts flattered themſelves that one ſucceſsful campaign would carry them into the heart of France; and that from thence they might dictate conditions of peace, either with the participation of England, or without it. 1712.

The invaſion, with which the kingdom was threatened, did not permit the French to indulge hopes from preliminaries which a battle would annul. Already the earl of Albemarle had made a daring attempt upon Arras, and had burned the magazines in the ſuburbs. Already prince Eugene had got poſſeſſion of Queſnoi. A general conſternation was ſpread over Paris; and the king, ſending for marſhal Villars, thus ſpoke to him:

'You ſee the extremity to which we are reduced; 'we muſt vanquiſh or die; let us conclude with one 'bold ſtroke at leaſt; find out the enemy, marſhal, 'and give them battle.'

Villars, with great emotion, replied, 'Sire, this is 'your laſt army.' 'No matter,' reſumed the king, 'I do not require you to beat the enemy, but to at-'tack them; if the battle is loſt, write to me, and me 'only:

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* Fitz-James, duke of Berwick, and marſhal of France, was the fruit of this amour.

† King James uſed afterwards to call him, *monſieur is it poſſible*, becauſe at the time when this favourite reſolved to abandon him, it was by thoſe words that he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and indignation againſt ſuch as went over to the party of the prince of Orange.

'only: give your courier orders to addreſs himſelf 'only to Blouin.' Villars liſtened to this ſpeech in ſilence, not knowing the king's purpoſe. 'I will 'mount my horſe,' continued the king, 'I will ride 'through the ſtreets of Paris with your letter in my 'hand; I know the French; I will bring you four 'hundred thouſand men; and with them will I bury 'myſelf under the ruins of the monarchy.'

Theſe words, which painted ſo well the ardent ſoul of Lewis, filled marſhal Villars with admiration; he took pleaſure in often repeating them, and introduced them in his ſpeech, upon his being received into the academy *.

Prince Eugene now inveſted Landrecy, and drew his convoys of proviſions from Marchiennes, under the protection of his camp at Denain. The duke of Ormond, who had ſucceeded the duke of Marlborough in his command, ſeparated his troops from thoſe of the allies: a ſuſpenſion of arms between France and England, for two months, was publiſhed; and Dunkirk was put into the hands of the Engliſh as a ſecurity. This incident animated the courage of the French, and depreſſed the Imperialiſts.

Marſhal Monteſquiou propoſed to march towards Chatillon-ſur-Sambre, in order to deceive prince Eugene, by threatening to fall upon the camp at Landrecy. Villars, rejected this advice with diſdain, and followed it punctually. All his meaſures tended to give a falſe alarm to prince Eugene, who fell into the ſnare, and was defeated. Denain was ſtormed, Marchiennes taken, Landrecy delivered, Saint-Amand, Douay, Queſnoy, and Bouchain ſurrendered; and all theſe ſucceſſes coſt us leſs than they had coſt the enemy.

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* The king, walking with ſome noblemen who were going to the army, ſaid to them, 'If you are beat, I 'will come to your aſſiſtance: I have the honour to 'be the oldeſt ſoldier in my kingdom.' 'And the 'beſt,' replied the marquis d'Antin.

The courtiers, this once by envy made juſt, joined with all the officers in attributing the glory of this campaign to Monteſquiou. Villars, enraged that the merit of the nobleſt action in his life ſhould be thus raviſhed from him, aſſerted that his rival had been only the confident and the miniſter of a ſcheme which he had projected. When the king perceived Villars enter the gardens of Marly, he went to meet him; and, embracing him, ſaid, 'I am charmed with your conduct; you have preſerved France.' 'Gentlemen,' ſaid Villars, turning to the courtiers, 'you hear however what the king ſays.'

The French plenipotentiaries no longer treated with the allies in the ſtyle of ſuppliants, and in a few conferences the jarring intereſts of ſo many different princes were conciliated. The princeſs Des Urſins, retarded the ſigning of the treaties, by demanding for herſelf and her heirs, the entire ſovereignty of lands in the dutchy of Luxembourg, of which the yearly rent amounted to a hundred thouſand livres. The king of Spain declared, that he would give up the Low-Countries only upon this condition. England accepted this article; the Dutch were ready to comply with it; but madame de Maintenon, who languiſhed for peace, prevailed upon the princeſs Des Urſins to relinquiſh a demand which was likely to delay it.

Theſe ſeveral treaties were ſo careleſsly diſcuſſed, and expreſſed with ſo little preciſion, that the articles of this pacification are at preſent the occaſion of a war.

The emperor complained of his allies for ſigning the treaties without his participation. He remained firm during a whole year in a *moderate* demand of the whole Spaniſh monarchy. Madame de Maintenon, perceiving the king to be in great concern for the continuation of the war, repreſented to him, that this war was nothing in compariſon with that which he had lately ſupported againſt all Europe united. 'It is not the 'war for which I am afflicted,' replied the king, 'it 'is for the miſery of the people.'

The treaty of Raſtat put an end to hoſtilities. The king,

king, being deſirous to ſhew the lady of marſhal Villars how greatly he was ſatisfied with the conduct of her huſband, who had ſigned it, ſaid to her, 'Madam, 'my joy is now complete.' The foreigners in Paris were charmed with the harmony which ſubſiſted between the monarch and his ſubjects. 'If I could 'love any king,' ſaid an Engliſhman, 'I ſhould love 'this king.'

FRANCE muſt neceſſarily be always engaged in a war, either for glory or religion. When ambition ſuffered the haraſed people to breathe again, zeal eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity to deprive them of that ſhort tranquillity. Thus blind and greedy mortals, inſtead of living happily on earth, paſs their anxious days in contending for ſmall parts of it; or make uſe of the ſtaff, which God has given them for their ſupport, in acting violences upon themſelves.

While the Engliſh permitted France to enjoy the ſweets of peace, the clergy tore her bowels with a war, which rages ſtill. I am now to give an account of theſe theological diſputes, which policy by endeavouring to allay, inſtead of deſpiſing them, has rendered intereſting and important, if any one may be expected to write impartially on ſuch a ſubject, it is he,

Qui ſorti d' Iſraël,
N' invoque ni Baal, ni le Dieu d' Iſmaël.

Who having left Iſrael,
Invokes neither Baal, nor the God of Iſmael.

CHAPTER XXV.

The death of father de la Chaiſe. Father le Tellier.

THE Janſeniſts, although often condemned by the church, had ſtill eſcaped its thunders; not daring to ſeparate from the holy ſee, nor willing to ſubmit to it, they had received all the bulls, and all were eluded by them; their diſtinctions between an heretical

cal and orthodox ſenſe, between an error in fact, and an error in will, had produced that awful ſilence which a pope, who was a greater friend to peace than truth, had enjoined. This ſilence was at length broke by the two parties, and was condemned by Clement XI.

A prieſt named Quênel, a diſciple of St. Cyran and of Arnaud, who had deſerted the congregation of the oratory, and taken refuge in Holland, publiſhed the New Teſtament with moral reflections. It was approved by ſeveral biſhops, even Innocent XII. to whom it was denounced, declared that he found none of the hereſies of Janſeniſm in it. Cardinal Noailles, in a mandate, recommended the reading of it to his whole dioceſe. The Jeſuits, finding editions of it were multiplied, ſuſpected that the book contained a ſecret poiſon, which in the eyes of ſome ultramontains was already very viſible, ſince it put the holy ſcripture into every body's hands. Theſe pious men thought a book very dangerous which was inſpired by God.

The biſhop of Chartres, tho' he permitted madame de Maintenon to read this book, ſaw Janſenius in Quênel, and condemned the *Moral Reflections*. He earneſtly intreated cardinal Noailles to correct his mandate; the archbiſhop of Paris thanked him for his advice, but did not profit by it. The great Boſſuet had often recommended the reading of Quênel's Teſtament; but whether he foreſaw that it would be condemned, or diſcovered his miſtake, he ſollicited cardinal Noailles to retract his mandate, or to correct the book.

Madame de Maintenon was alarmed, and conjured the cardinal to comply; however, ſhe neither declared for the Janſeniſts nor for their enemies; and when each party endeavoured to gain her, her anſwer was, *I am only a papiſt*; and this was enough.

Boſſuet, being apprehenſive that the cardinal's pride would ſuffer too much from a formal recantation, propoſed to him to write a preface to the book, in which ſome of the propoſitions ſhould be explained. The archbiſhop approved of this expedient, and Boſſuet wrote the preface, which was ſent to Quênel. That prieſt, whoſe vanity was ſoothed by the approbation of

cardinal

cardinal Noailles, took offence at the biſhop of Meaux's criticiſms, and anſwered haughtily, that his book had no need of any correction; however the cardinal did correct a few words in it; but the biſhop of Chartres foretold that the whole would be condemned at Rome.

In the mean time, this book gave a pretence for the diviſions that broke out among the clergy. If the cardinal had been able to prevail with father Quênel, to make ſome alterations in his book, his enemies would have ſoon raiſed him a more powerful oppoſer. Janſeniſm may poſſibly be a real evil, but this prelate conſidered it as a hereſy only at court: if it had been confined to Châlons, or if it had permitted the Jeſuits to govern deſpotically at Paris, it would have been orthodox.

1708.] Several divines demanded of the pope, the condemnation of the *Moral Reflections*, which his holineſs readily granted. Theſe vague cenſures are greatly deſpiſed in France; and this was by the Janſeniſts thought ridiculous, and inſufficient by the Moliniſts. Hence aroſe thoſe ardent diſputes, thoſe bitter altercations; the prieſts, inſtead of executing the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, uncharitably quarrelled with each other concerning that of Quênel.

Father de la Chaiſe bending under the weight of years, and too near the grave to hate with violence, left the cardinal in peace, but both parties formed intrigues to nominate the king's confeſſor. Among the clergy, thoſe who owed their preferments to the Jeſuits, deſired to be freed from the yoke which gratitude impoſed upon them; and thoſe who had no obligations to them, exclaimed againſt the tyranny of an order, which expected the moſt abſolute reſignation to their will.

Whoever, ſaid they, oppoſes the ambition of this ſociety, is ſuſpected and oppreſſed. If a prince makes a ſecular prieſt his confeſſor, he has only the deſires of one man to gratify; but if he chuſes a regular prieſt for that office, he is perſecuted with the ſolicitations of a whole ſociety, of all the members who compoſe it, and of all ſtrangers who favour it; and the order of the

Jeſuits

Jeſuits is more attentive to its own aggrandizement, than any other order: they have monopoliſed all the colleges, and the greater part of the ſeminaries; they are abſolutely devoted to the pope, and being maſters of all benefices, they neceſſarily become ſo of the church, and its tenets.

To this, their partiſans replied, that a prieſt who had renounced the world, was to be preferred to a prieſt who would have as many intereſted friends as the moſt numerous religious order had members; that ſince the time of father Coton, the Gallican church had been well governed, and carefully guarded from error; that the Jeſuits alone, among religious orders, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by uſeful learning; that leaving to the Dominicans their barbarous pedantry, to the Benedictines their heavy compilations, to the Franciſcans their ſuperſtition and ignorance, to all the others, their holy ſloth, the Jeſuits alone poſſeſſed every quality neceſſary for conducting men to God; that they only excelled in literature, in regulating manners, in the art of preaching, and the direction of conſciences; that the ambition which was imputed to them, was not a vice peculiar to their order, but a human frailty; that a capuchin, if he were maſter of the liſt of benefices, would ſhew equal ambition; and, in a word, that the Jeſuits were hated by none but hereticks.

Madame de Maintenon was for a ſecular prieſt; but the king's affection for the Jeſuits was ſo rooted in his heart, that although ſhe acknowledged the force of the cardinal's reaſons againſt chuſing a Jeſuit for the king's confeſſor, yet ſhe knew they were ineffectual. *Jan.* 1709.

Mean time father de la Chaiſe was preparing himſelf for death: the king conſulted him concerning his choice of a perſon to ſucceed him. The dying Jeſuit wrote down the names of three or four fathers of his ſociety, and madame de Maintenon ſent this paper to the biſhop of Chartres, deſiring him to confer with la Chetardie, the curate of Saint-Sulpice, upon it. The king, added ſhe, would have a man well born, of an inflexible virtue, one who is not ſolicitous about the aggrandize-

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ment of his family, nor ſubjected to the mean circumſpection of concealed ambition.

At that time there was in Paris, a man, born in Vire, in the Lower Normandy, the ſon of an attorney, and author of a book in defence of the Chineſe chriſtians. This man had a mind more turned to intrigue than ſtudy, an irreconcileable enemy to the Janſeniſts, whom he was continually decrying to father de la Chaiſe; it was he who invented the artful fraud of Douay, which approached ſo near to the blackeſt treachery.

His emiſſaries, who were diſtributed in the colleges and univerſities, informed him of every thing it was neceſſary he ſhould know, in order to forward his deſigns. He ſhewed an equal attention to conceal his intrigues, as to ſecure the ſucceſs of them; obſcure and unnoticed, although during twenty years, it had been his conſtant endeavour to diſturb the quiet of the kingdom, and unfortunately he was a Jeſuit.

It was on this dangerous and turbulent man, that an office was beſtowed, which required one of the moſt virtuous and moſt pacifick to fill it properly. Father de la Chaiſe had wrote his name in his liſt; he had intended to have placed it laſt, but by the artifice of the perſon who guided his hand, it was the firſt.

The king, madame de Maintenon, the biſhop of Chartres, and the curate of Saint-Sulpice, all gave him their voices; the king, becauſe it was the name which firſt ſtruck his eyes; madame de Maintenon, becauſe ſhe was told, that he had acquired great credit among his ſociety by his learning, and great conſideration in the world, by his eaſy and engaging manners; the biſhop of Chartres, with a hope that cardinal Noailles, whom he was diſpleaſed to find treated with ſo much reſpectful caution, would be at length vigorouſly oppoſed; and the curate of Saint-Sulpice, in complaiance to the three others. Strange, that four perſons, ſo wiſe and prudent, ſhould think they choſe a ſaint, when they gave their voices for a firebrand.

Father le Tellier was the name of the new confeſſor; he was then provincial of Paris, and treated the ſubjects of his little empire, as he he afterwards treated

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the Janſeniſts: nothing but informations, threats, perſecutions, and the moſt tyrannical exertions of power were heard of. The Jeſuits rejoiced at his elevation, which delivered them from a man, whoſe inventive cruelty might now find ſufficient exerciſe againſt the enemies of the church.

This new ſecretary of ſtate formed a council, the members of which were gloomy, vehement, and cruel like himſelf. The fathers Doucin, Lallemand, and Daniel, all Normans, were at the head of it; and all the ſubjects of the ſociety, who were diſtinguiſhed for their artifice, their talents for intrigue, and their turbulence of temper, were admitted; and their influence there was in proportion to their abilities.

Before this monkiſh council all ſecret informations were laid, and they judged the whole body of eccleſiaſticks in France. Father de la Chaiſe had never attempted any thing like it; his confidents were men of mild and peaceable diſpoſitions: he had, indeed, oppoſed the Janſeniſts; but father le Tellier eſtabliſhed an inquiſition, purſued a plan made up of ſecret arts and open violence, and with leſs influence than father de la Chaiſe, had a thouſand times more power.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The affairs of the church.

FAther le Tellier, who had a perſonal enmity to Noailles, becauſe he had prevented him from publiſhing a verſion of the New Teſtament, under his own name, aimed ſeveral ſtrokes at that prelate, which were warded off by madame de Maintenon. The cardinal, either induced by his piety, which could not ſuffer the profanation, or ſtimulated by reſentment, accuſed the confeſſor of ſelling benefices. 'I will conſent,' ſaid the confeſſor in his anſwer to the king, 'to be burnt alive, if this accuſation can 'be proved; but the cardinal ought to be burnt, if 'it is not proved.'

Biſſy, Biſhop of Meaux, and divine of the court, attempted to reconcile the cardinal and the confeſſor. The Jeſuit ſaid, that he muſt either loſe his place, or the cardinal muſt fall: the cardinal was not ignorant of this ſally of his rage, and anſwered ſome body who ſaid, that the Jeſuits were capable of every thing; 'No certainly, for I am ſtill alive.'

In order to ruin the cardinal effectually, it was neceſſary to make him a heretick; the tenderneſs of his conſcience, his ſubmiſſion to the church, and his firm attachment to truth, were well known. Le Tellier therefore choſe, from among the moral reflections of Quênel, ſuch as were moſt pious, moſt truly apoſtolical; in a word, ſuch as the cardinal could not cenſure, without extreme diſhonour to himſelf. But to denounce theſe articles to the pope, it was neceſſary to engage the king to act in the affair; however this could not be effected, without the prelates could be prevailed upon to intreat that his majeſty would condeſcend to become the accuſer of Quênel. The biſhops of Rochelle, Luçon, and Gap, readily conſented to publiſh mandates againſt the *Moral Reflections*; their nephews, who ſtudied in the ſeminary of Saint-Sulpice, took care to fix them up in every quarter of Paris, and even over the gate of the archbiſhop's palace.

The cardinal ordered theſe ſeditious abbés to be turned out of the ſeminary. The three biſhops complained to the king, and informed againſt the book, and him by whom it was defended: this letter, which was a real libel, was ſoon publiſhed; almoſt all the ſocieties in Paris, joined with the chapter of Notre-Dame, in expreſſing to the archbiſhop, their indignation at this proceeding. The king, who hated error, but diſapproved of all violent and unjuſt meaſures, was greatly ſhocked at the extreme animoſity ſhewn by the three prelates. Cardinal Noailles demanded juſtice of his majeſty, who promiſed he ſhould have it. The Janſeniſts, who fatigued the archbiſhop with their zealous remonſtrances, perſuaded him to ſuppreſs by a

mandate

mandate of his own, thoſe which his enemies had publiſhed againſt him. The king was ſo much diſpleaſed with the cardinal archbiſhop, for having taken this ſtep, that he ſent him word, ſince he had done himſelf juſtice, he muſt not expect it from him.

The cardinal replied, that ſome diſtinction ought to be made between an injury offered to his perſon, and an injury offered to truth, by the mandates of the three biſhops; that he had taken revenge for that which could not be done by the prince; but that it was the prince's part to revenge the other.

Madame de Maintenon, to whom father le Tellier had repreſented this diſtinction as captious and fallacious, at length began to comprehend, that a biſhop had the privilege of publiſhing any mandate in his own dioceſe, without loſing the right of being defended by the laws from perſonal outrages. The bookſellers of Paris preſented a petition to the chancellor, againſt the proceeding of certain prelates, who had lately condemned a Teſtament ſo advantageous to their trade.

The king, being apprehenſive that this quarrel would have further conſequences, ordered the dauphin to reconcile the two parties. This pious prince was willing to be the arbitrator between them, and received all their memorials: but diſtruſting his own abilities, he had recourſe to the ſuperior wiſdom of the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux and of la Chetardie, who were deſirous to paſs for neuters in the affair, but were far from being ſo. The latter, after the death of the biſhop of Chartres, was confeſſor to madame de Maintenon; but this place he loſt by his indiſcretion. Madame de Maintenon had no longer a conſtant director; if the king had followed her example, France would have been bleſt with peace.

While the dauphin liſtened to the biſhop of Meaux, who told him that the archbiſhop of Paris ought to ſuppreſs his mandate; to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, who maintained that this mandate was not prejudicial to the epiſcopal authority; to la Chetar-

die, who adviſed that the offenders ſhould be puniſhed, provided the offended party ſolemnly condemned the hereſies of Janſenius; to the archbiſhop of Cambray, who in all his letters thundered againſt the partiſans of Quênel, a defence of Quênel's *Moral Reflections* by monſieur Boſſuet, late biſhop of Meaux, which was publiſhed and diſperſed over the whole kingdom.

This apology was ſolid and vigorous; the Jeſuits were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; Boſſuet was become the church itſelf, and Quênel, defended by Boſſuet, could no longer be a heretick. Fortunately the editor, who was nephew to this father of the church, was found to be a good Janſeniſt; he was accuſed of being the author of the book, which he publiſhed under the name of his uncle. Thoſe who knew what contempt the great Boſſuet had always expreſſed for Quênel, no longer doubted of it. This pious fraud being publickly known, all good men were ſcandaliſed at it: certainly the partiſans of Quênel ſuſpected that they had not reaſon and truth on their ſide, ſince they had recourſe to authority and falſhood.

At length a ſcheme of reconciliation was formed. By this ſcheme the mandates of the three biſhops were to be ſubmitted to the examination of their metropolitans; and if they condemned them, the biſhops were to write a letter of excuſes and compliments to the cardinal, of whom as a preliminary it was required, that he ſhould revoke his own mandate. Theſe conditions were very hard, and the cardinal did not deign to make any anſwer to them.

The dauphin, having collected the voices of his council, aſſured the cardinal, that he ſhould have ample ſatisfaction from the three biſhops, provided he would retract the approbation he had given of Quênel's Teſtament. This propoſal was evidently dictated by father le Tellier; the affair at preſent was to ſuppreſs the libel, not to condemn error. Le Tellier was unjuſt, and perhaps aſhamed of taking advantage of the prelate's extreme ſenſibility, to force from him

him a diſavowal, and to tyrannize over his conſcience; but why did cardinal Noailles addreſs himſelf to the king for juſtice, inſtead of complaining to the parliament, who would have condemned the libels of his enemies to the flames? whoever has recourſe to the ſupreme authority for juſtice, when the laws can afford it him, renounces the protection and the pity of the publick.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Falſhood diſcovered, and left unpuniſhed.

FAther le Tellier did not appear in this quarrel, which he directed according to his pleaſure; he was employed in forming a plot of greater importance: he ordered the three biſhops to accuſe both cardinal Noailles and Quênel to the king. A letter, wrote by the abbé Bochart of Saron, unveiled the whole myſtery.

This abbé, formerly a Jeſuit, and then employed as a ſpy by the confeſſor, wrote to his uncle the biſhop of Clermont, that Quênel's book would be prohibited; that father le Tellier was collecting from every part letters from the biſhops to the king againſt cardinal Noailles; that he had already got thirty, and had told him that in three days he ſhould have as many more; that the moſt inviolable ſecreſy was promiſed to all who would engage in this iniquitous affair; and that he intreated him to ſign a letter according to the form he now ſent him.

This form was a ſevere invective againſt cardinal Noailles and againſt heretical doctrine: it was tranſmitted with other papers by the poſt, and taken from thence by one of the cardinal's emiſſaries, the treachery of the abbé Bochart being already ſuſpected by the cardinal.

The cardinal depoſited the original of theſe papers in the epiſcopal court, and ſent copies of them to the king, to the dauphin, and to madame de Maintenon: the two laſt were not able to contain their indignati-

on; but the king carefully concealed his ſentiments, either becauſe he meditated ſome important blow, or becauſe he was already in the ſecret.

As ſoon as they were publiſhed, all, who poſſeſſed either piety or honour, exclaimed againſt the abominable artifices of this cabal. The biſhops complained that they were now reduced to the ſingle function of ſigning mandates compoſed for them, they whom Jeſus Chriſt had eſtabliſhed the ſole judges of doctrine. The Huguenots remembered, *That the Holy Ghoſt came every week in a coffer to the fathers of the council of Trent.* See, ſaid the libertines, what religion is! human credulity requires proper nouriſhment; our faith will never be complete; every day ſome new tenet is introduced; and how are theſe tenets made? by dictating to our judges what opinions they are to embrace. The *Moral Reflections* cannot be orthodox, ſince he who nominates to biſhopricks has ordered the biſhops to declare them heretical; formerly, infallibility was lodged in the council, to-day it is in the pope, to-morrow it will be in the Jeſuits; and thus will it circulate from party to party, till the end of time.

The Janſeniſts were more vehement; we ſhall never be without hereſies, cried they, as long as the enemies of St. Auguſtin have le Tellier, Bochart, and biſhops of Clermont, and they will always have them. The Jeſuits can no longer deny their ambitious deſigns, and their ſchemes for independence; they endeavour to divide the epiſcopate, that they may become its maſters; they ſport with the juſtice of the king; they abuſe his zeal for religion; and perhaps they make him an accomplice in the iniquities they project, by alarming his conſcience about errors which never exiſted.

No one doubted but father le Tellier would be diſmiſſed; many of the Jeſuits were aſhamed of their ſociety. The greater part agreed that the father confeſſor, who, but a month before, had taken God to witneſs that he remained neutral in the affair, ought to do penance for having violated the firſt duties of religion and morality.

Others

Others ſaid coldly that the crime of father le Tellier was reſpectable, ſince it was peculiar to ſouls which like his, flaming with zeal for the houſe of God, willingly ſacrificed their reputation and their conſcience to truth. That Janſeniſm, which was continually working under ground, could not be deſtroyed, unleſs it was countermined; and it was very happy for the church of France that one prieſt could be found who had zeal and abilities enough for all the others; that the biſhops, immerſed in pleaſures, had no leiſure for compoſing mandates.

During ſome days father le Tellier was racked with the moſt cruel anxiety; in the king's behaviour he ſaw a coldneſs and reſerve which was a prelude to diſgrace.

In order to turn aſide the ſtorm with which he was threatened, he prevailed upon the abbé Bochart to take upon himſelf all the ſcandal of this deteſtable intrigue. The complaiſant abbé wrote to the biſhop of Clermont diſavowing the principal ſtrokes in the letter, and acknowledging his artifice and perjury.

Father le Tellier, doubtleſs blinded by his crime, carried this concerted letter to the king, which, when compared with the other, inſtead of clearing him, loaded him with accumulated guilt. The king, ſtill more blind than his confeſſor, began to doubt whether the Jeſuit was really guilty or not. The biſhop of Meaux, who had been promiſed ſome rich abbeys by the confeſſor provided he was not diſmiſſed from court, came in very ſeaſonably, and told the king that the abbé was a pious fool, who, in his letter to the biſhop of Clermont, mentioned the name of the reverend father le Tellier, in order to quicken the old man's zeal.

The king's countenance became calm and ſerene; he never liked to change his confidants, and to hate Janſeniſm was in his eyes a virtue which compenſated for many ſins. He had believed le Tellier to be one of his moſt faithful ſervants, he wiſhed to find him innocent, and he was of an age when credulity as well as diſtruſt is carried to exceſs.

The dauphin ſeemed to adopt the opinion of his grandfather; his indignation againſt father le Tellier vaniſhed with the publick clamour; the courtiers, who alone were capable of awakening the king's reſentment, had been too much accuſtomed to ſee all affairs managed by cabal and intrigue, to be long ſurpriſed at what the Jeſuit had been guilty of.

But how? it will be aſked; how did madame de Maintenon behave on this occaſion? ſhe was ſilent; the father confeſſor ſeemed to her ſo firmly rooted in the king's heart, that ſhe thought it impoſſible to force him thence. Perhaps ſhe was herſelf afraid of this ferocious and powerful man; perhaps ſhe believed that if his office was given to another, the change would inevitably produce a ſchiſm in the church; however that may be, ſhe abandoned her friend, and poſterity will never pardon her for this inſtance of weakneſs. She ought to have left to God the care of his church, and have given the king a more worthy confeſſor: it was not her part to judge whether cardinal Noailles was or was not in error; whether it was neceſſary for the ſecurity of religion, that the biſhops ſhould form a league againſt him; but it was her duty to declare herſelf plainly againſt treachery and malice, to make the king ſenſible that there was a cabal formed to ruin an archbiſhop reſpectable for the holineſs of his life; and to repreſent to his majeſty how greatly he debaſed his dignity, by the exceſſive confidence he placed in a man ſo contemptible.

When ſhe afterwards concurred in the ſcheme for degrading cardinal Noailles, ſhe obeyed the motions of her own conſcience, which exhorted her to have no further connection with a prelate who rebelled againſt the authority of the church; but when ſhe ſuffered that prelate to be oppreſſed by the malice of a factious prieſt, ſhe violated all the ſacred duties of friendſhip, which ſuggeſted to her that ſhe ought to declare herſelf openly againſt his oppreſſor. She indeed prayed to God; but what were ſecret tears and fervent prayers, when courage, reſolution, and arduous ſervices were neceſſary? It is certain that when the whole affair

fair was candidly examined, probability was for the cardinal; if le Tellier had had a good cauſe, would he have corrupted his judges?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Jeſuits deprived of their privileges.

CArdinal Noailles, ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the indifference the king ſhewed about the intercepted letters, than at the wicked purport of thoſe letters, believed he owed to the church and to his own dignity a publick vengeance for the affronts he had received. After conſulting the Lord in prayer he wrote to the king, and aſſured him that his ſoul was not ſafe under the direction of father le Tellier; he wrote alſo to madame de Maintenon, conjuring her by her zeal for the king's ſalvation, to take the care of a conſcience ſo precious, from that perverſe and malicious man. Theſe two letters were read, and deſpiſed: father le Tellier had juſt before been declaiming againſt Janſeniſm to the king.

The cardinal, finding that his enemies exulted over his fallen dignity, which was their own work, reſolved to deprive the moſt ſeditious amongſt them of the privileges of preaching and confeſſing. Father Daniel, ſuperior of the profeſſed houſe, went to him, and complained bitterly of this interdiction. 'I thank you 'and your fathers,' ſaid the archbiſhop to him, 'for 'your labours in my dioceſe; I have many eccleſiaſ-'ticks who are without employment, and I have no 'need of your auxiliary troops.'

The greater part of the Jeſuits rejoiced at this puniſhment; ſome, becauſe they hated father le Tellier, to whoſe cabal they gave the name of the *Norman party*; others, becauſe they expected that this event would excite troubles, in which they might augment their own credit and influence.

Father le Tellier was not in the number of thoſe Jeſuits who were interdicted from exerciſing theſe powers. He acquired new ones; but the king's mind was

greatly perplexed; he ballanced between his archbiſhop and his confeſſor. Le Tellier he favoured thro' inclination; but reaſon was on the cardinal's ſide. He could not endure that a ſociety he loved ſo much ſhould receive ſo terrible a blow; but he would not venture to demand favour for them of the cardinal.

Madame de Maintenon and the duke d'Antin, who were witneſſes of the king's uneaſineſs, ſollicited the cardinal to ſet his majeſty's mind at eaſe, by reſtoring their former privileges to the Jeſuits; he was inflexible. At length the king himſelf intreated him. 'When my 'aſſiſtance was required in temporal affairs,' anſwered the cardinal, 'ſuch as impoſts equivalent to the tenth-'penny, I have always obeyed your majeſty's orders; 'I have been the firſt to ruin the clergy with taxes, to 'preſerve your throne and your dominions; but the 'queſtion is now concerning the ſacraments and the 'power of the keys intruſted to my care, all that is 'moſt aweful and moſt auguſt in religion. Your ma-'jeſty is neither permitted to touch the cenſer, nor to 'demand of me an account of my conduct; and if I 'am reduced to the neceſſity of diſpleaſing you, or 'of offending God, my choice has been made long 'ago.'

The king, who was convinced that he had neither the right of judging, nor of interpoſing his authority in ſacred matters, did not inſiſt upon the Jeſuits being admitted to exerciſe their former powers; and although he had ſported with the conſciences of his lay ſubjects, he revered the conſcience of his archbiſhop. The dauphin had ſo high an idea of the eccleſiaſtical power, that he often ſaid to cardinal Noailles, 'If an affair has 'ever ſo little relation to the church, it is without the 'bounds of our juriſdiction.'

Theſe rights, ſo frequently violated, would be always reſpected, if thoſe in whom they are veſted would ceaſe at length to have recourſe to the civil authority to enforce them.

However, the cardinal's conduct was blamed; ſome ſaid, that by interdicting ſo many Jeſuits, he had done too much; and, by tolerating the moſt guilty, he had done

done too little: that a man of ſuch ſuperior abilities, courage, and even piety, would have made a better uſe of his advantages in this diſpute, by ſuddenly alarming the conſcience of the prince; and that the favour ſhewn to father le Tellier, ſhewed the cautious reſerve of a timid courtier.

Others ſaid, that the puniſhment inflicted on the Jeſuits was of too long duration: but the cardinal would have ſhortened the time, if he had not been informed that it was looked upon as a private vengeance which he ought to ſacrifice to the king. A certain humorous wit ſent him a petition in favour of the Jeſuits, and in the names of old ſinners, who were in great diſtreſs by the thorns which the Janſeniſt confeſſors ſtrewed in the way to heaven.

Although the archbiſhop had fallen into a kind of diſgrace with the king, madame de Maintenon ventured to have a converſation with him. Moved with the misfortunes of the church, and anxious about the future, ſhe was free enough to propoſe to him to reſign his archbiſhoprick. To ſuppoſe that Noailles was ſo detached from the world, it muſt neceſſarily be that ſhe herſelf was bound to it by very ſlender ties. The cardinal, who ſome years before had voluntarily offered her to abdicate his dignity, rejected this propoſal now, and alledged that circumſtances were greatly altered; that the eyes of the whole church were fixed upon him; that he would never quit his poſt, which his enemy would quickly give to ſome mercenary; that he was ſure his own vigilance would not be leſs than that of his ſucceſſor.

Madame de Maintenon exaggerated to him the great power and influence of father le Tellier. The cardinal told her, without any emotion, that he was prepared for whatever might happen; that he hoped for nothing from men; that he would obey the church; and would have already interdicted the reading of Quênel's book, if the Jeſuits had not attempted to force him to it, by aſſuming the power of maſters over the biſhops, whoſe diſciples only they were.

Madame

Madame de Maintenon, being apprehenſive that the converſation would turn to a diſagreeable explanation, interrupted it, by talking of indifferent things. The cardinal went out of her apartment, convinced that his ruin was determined, but that it did not depend upon men.

The reader will doubtleſs be aſtoniſhed to find a king, ſo remarkable for his love of juſtice, ſacrificing to a Jeſuit a prelate whom the antient church would have envied theſe latter times the poſſeſſion of. Many perſons ſuppoſed that the king, by protecting le Tellier, protected only a brother of the ſociety he himſelf had entered into. Some Proteſtant and ſome Janſeniſt hiſtorians * aſſure us that he was a Jeſuit; to prove it, they bring the teſtimony of two blue-coat boys, who were preſent when the king pronounced the three firſt vows, and of an officer of the chamber, who heard the king pronounce the fourth vow to his confeſſor. It was alſo ſaid, that madame de Maintenon was become a daughter of the ſociety: it is certain, that from the year 1696, ſhe was ſuſpected of being ſo.

Theſe facts do not appear to be founded upon good proofs, but upon the neceſſity there was of explaining other facts by them: and thus it is, that in the hands of ſuch perſons as ſeek to diſcover the ſecret cauſes and motives of every thing, hiſtory becomes a mere romance. Among the religious orders, there are many that admit laicks into their ſociety; and ſuch as are thus aſſociated, participate in all the ſpiritual goods of the community. God aſcribes to theſe ſtrangers the merit of the good works of his ſaints, who have more than ſufficient to ſecure their own ſalvation.

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* See Anecdotes upon the Conſtitution Unigenitus, or *The Journal of the abbé Dorſanne.* It is the ſame work; but publiſhed under different titles, by the fraudulent bookſellers and Janſeniſts of Holland. During thirty years it was publiſhed under the title of *Anecdotes*, and ſix months ago under that of *The Journal.*

In this ſenſe Lewis the Fourteenth may have been a Jeſuit; but he never was ſo ſuperſtitious or ſo weak, to have really entered into their order. Whatever aſcendancy father le Tellier might have acquired over his mind, how could he perſuade him that vows, which he could not fulfil, could be uſeful to his ſalvation? and that the vows of poverty and abſolute obedience were not incompatible with his dignity as a king? It is very poſſible to love the Jeſuits without being a Jeſuit, ſo much may be ſaid in their favour; it is alſo very poſſible to hate them without being a Janſeniſt, ſo much may be ſaid againſt them.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The dauphin and dauphineſs.

THE dauphin, who was always a friend to peace, not being able to eſtabliſh it in France, adviſed the king to carry this theological war to Rome. The biſhops of Luçon and Rochelle, intreated the pope to be their judge, and at the ſame time accuſed Quênel's book of hereſy. The archbiſhop of Cambray had already ſent his holineſs his remarks on the book; and by the manner in which Clement the Eleventh received them, he was convinced that the faith and ſubmiſſion of him who had ſo ardently oppoſed the book of *Maxims*, would be put to the ſame proof as his had been.

In points of doctrine, to be accuſed is almoſt to be condemned. Cardinal Noailles, who foreſaw the decree, foreſaw alſo the danger of it: tho' he but faintly oppoſed the biſhop's demands of a bull, by which all differences might be terminated. He was apprehenſive, that father le Tellier would accuſe him of not believing in the infallibility of the pope, although father le Tellier believed leſs in it than himſelf: for this Jeſuit, having wrote a very bad book, which was twice condemned, ſtill perſiſted in declaring that it contained ſound doctrine; and to reduce him to obedience, explication upon explication was neceſſary, and decree

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upon decree. However, his hereſies were not trifles like Quênel's; for he maintained, that it was poſſible to be at once an idolator and a chriſtian.

The dauphin employed his time in affairs of more importance, and of a leſs intricate nature. Long reflection upon the errors of his grandfather's reign, diſcovered to him that the ſource of them was in that form of government which he had adopted. He was ſenſible that all the miſeries of war proceeded from the exhauſted condition of the ſtate; and that the ſtate was exhauſted by that great number of oppreſſive edicts, which the parliament had not been able to oppoſe. He therefore reſolved to reſtore one day to this auguſt body their former liberty, and by multiplying councils, ſtrengthen his own underſtanding: it was difficult to make both theſe projects agree.

This prince was the hope of the nation, and the princeſs his wife was the delight of the court; piety had changed the temper of the one *, and corrected the faults

* See madame de Maintenon's teſtimony to this truth, in a piece which is not inſerted among her letters. 'I do not think I can make uſe of a more efficacious 'motive to prevail upon you generouſly to embrace 'a truly chriſtian life for the reſt of your days, 'than by propoſing to your imitation the example of 'the dauphin. This prince is almoſt of your age; ever 'ſince he firſt received the communion, we have ſeen 'vaniſh by degrees all thoſe faults which in his child-'hood had given us ſo much anxious concern for his 'future behaviour. We were ſenſible of the progreſs 'which he made every year in virtue. At firſt he was 'rallied by the whole court; he is at length become 'the admiration of the greateſt libertines in it. Af-'ter dinner he ſhuts himſelf up in his cloſet, and con-'tinues there an hour or two alone. He is conſtantly 'employed in combating his paſſions, that he may cure 'himſelf intirely of his faults. His piety has produced 'ſo great a change in him, that from haughty, paſ-'ſionate, and revengeful, he is become polite, mild, and

faults of the other. The prince and the princeſs placed the moſt unbounded confidence in madame de Maintenon. She was the depoſitory of all their cares, their joys, their wiſhes, and their deſigns; they ſubmitted their little quarrels to her arbitration; ſhe cemented their union, and improved their mutual tenderneſs.

The dauphineſs was gay; ſhe had a high taſte for the pleaſures of life, and loved gaming. The coquets of the court endeavoured to ſnatch her from madame de Maintenon; they furniſhed the cloſet of the princeſs with dangerous books, that ſhe might not be ignorant of

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'and generous: one is ready to pronounce that this is 'his diſpoſition, and that virtue is natural to him.

'When he determined to apply himſelf wholly to 'his duties, he began by renouncing play, of which he 'was paſſionately fond. I aſked him why he had inter-'dicted himſelf this amuſement, the moſt innocent of 'all that were to be found in a court. He replied, that 'he was convinced an eager deſire of gain was the 'cauſe of his paſſion for play; that indeed he was 'not much concerned when he loſt, but that he was 'ſenſible of an extreme joy when he won; that this 'paſſion therefore muſt be founded on avarice, and 'that what was vicious in its principle, could not be 'innocent in its effects.

'The princeſs his wife, who knows what ſimplicity 'there is in his piety, notwithſtanding his fine ſenſe and 'enlarged notions, ſometimes takes advantage of the 'tenderneſs of his conſcience; for it is always ſuffici-'ent, if ſhe ſays to him,' *If you do ſuch a thing, you will be the cauſe of a great ſin; for I ſhall put myſelf into a paſſion.* 'Every kind of deceit and falſhood im-'preſſes horror upon his mind. He one day anſwered 'me with a little inſincerity, and the next day coming 'to my apartment,' *Madam*, ſaid he, *I was mean enough yeſterday to impoſe upon you; I could not ſleep all night, having ſuch an action to reproach myſelf with; I come to own my fault, and to repair it in ſome degree, by telling you the truth.*

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of the theory of vice at leaſt; madame de Maintenon uſed to fill them with books of piety and good morals, which diſappeared the next day.

The dauphin, paſſionately enamoured of his wife, could not bear to be abſent from her a moment; the dauphineſs, diverting herſelf with his jealouſy, uſed ſometimes to ſteal from him: madame de Maintenon, by ſeaſonable advice and tender perſuaſion, ſucceeded better in recalling her, than the troubleſome ardour of her huſband.

She uſed often to chide the princeſs gently for her little levities, and often aſſiſted her with money, to pay the debts ſhe contracted at lanſquenet. She prevented the grandfather's anger, and while ſhe taught the young dauphineſs

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'By ſome perſons he is ſuppoſed to be covetous; 'but the numberleſs alms he beſtows in ſecret ſufficient-'ly clear him of that charge. Others think his go-'vernment will be auſtere and rigid; however he is 'not inſenſible to joy, nor averſe to amuſement. He 'ſometimes gives himſelf freely up to it in complai-'ſance to the dauphineſs. His virtue, inſtead of ren-'dering amuſements inſipid to him, give him a quicker 'reliſh of them, whereas thoſe who make pleaſures 'their only employment find none that entirely ſatisfy 'them. They go from the gardens to the chace; from 'the chace to the play-houſe; from the play-houſe to 'the opera; from thence to the gaming-table. I wiſh 'you would obſerve them with attention at the end of 'each ſucceſſive diverſion; their languor and diſcontent 'will make an emphatick ſermon. You will find them 'with ſorrowful looks and a tone of chagrin, complain-'ing that every thing was wrong; the play was ill 'performed; the opera was deteſtable; they were ſtifled 'with heat in the gardens; the hounds did not hunt 'well. Amidſt all theſe diſcontented voluptuaries, the 'young prince is the only perſon who appears gay and 'ſatisfied, becauſe he has ſpent the greateſt part of the 'day in fulfilling thoſe duties he knows, and in being 'inſtructed in thoſe that are yet unknown to him.

dauphineſs to engage every heart, ſhe ſhewed the moſt earneſt attention to preſerve to her that of the king.

One day, when the princeſs appeared in great perplexity and uneaſineſs, ſhe confeſſed to madame de Maintenon that ſhe owed a large ſum, for which ſhe was extremely preſſed. She durſt not mention it to the king; for the dauphineſs had given him a falſe ſtate of her debts, and money was ſo ſcarce, and his majeſty was grown ſo frugal, that he did not diſcharge them, without accompanying his preſent with a little reprimand.

Madame de Maintenon was moved at the uneaſy ſituation of the princeſs. She borrowed fifteen hundred piſtoles upon her eſtate, and made up the reſt of the ſum with the money ſhe had deſtined for alms, but little regretting what ſhe took away from her heirs, yet greatly concerned for what ſhe raviſhed from her poor. The next day the dauphineſs found twenty-five thouſand francks in her cloſet, and the following billet from madame de Maintenon, 'I ſend you, madam, 'the ſum neceſſary to pay your debts, and ſet your 'mind at eaſe; the only acknowledgment I deſire, is 'not to thank me for it.'

At length the princeſs renounced lanſquenet; and madame de Maintenon enjoyed the ſucceſs of her cares. Her pupil became her moſt faithful friend; and whether this pupil made an eſſay of the part of queen, which ſhe was ſoon to act, or whether laying aſide ſtate, ſhe delivered herſelf up to the eaſy pleaſures of ſociety, ſhe gave France hopes of the moſt happy days. 'I feel my heart enlarge itſelf,' ſaid ſhe to madame de Maintenon, 'in proportion as I am raiſed higher.' Not that ſhe was impatient to aſcend the throne: by theſe ſentiments ſhe only diſcovered the new taſte ſhe had acquired for duties better underſtood by her; nor did the king entertain any fears of her ambition; he admired her character, charmed with her preſence, he forgot all her little errors, and in her ſaw the happineſs of his ſon, and in his ſon the felicity of his people.

Eſcaped

Eſcaped from the ſnares of a dangerous world, ſhe one day ſaid to madame de Maintenon, 'I am now 'ſenſible, aunt, of the obligations I owe to you; you 'had patience enough to wait for the maturity of my 'reaſon.'

Feb. 1712.] The king had not yet recovered his grief for the death of the dauphin his ſon, when the dauphineſs his grand-daughter was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper *. While her illneſs was inconſiderable, ſhe ſaid to one of her ladies, 'I have it upon 'my mind that peace will be made, and I ſhall not 'ſee it.'

The next day a violent pain in her head, an impetuous fever, an ardent thirſt, alarmed her phyſicians: they ordered that ſhe ſhould be twice bled. Madame de Maintenon ſcarce ever quitted her bed-ſide; ſhe ſeized the firſt favourable moment to diſpoſe her for thoſe religious acts, which are always too long deferred. Father de la Rue her confeſſor, propoſed to her to take another. 'Shall I not afflict him,' ſaid the princeſs to madame de Maintenon, 'by taking another con-'feſſor?' 'Conſcience cannot be too free,' replied madame de Maintenon. The princeſs then deſired to have a recollet friar, famous for his learning and auſtere piety; and intreated madame de Maintenon to aſſiſt her in the examination of her ſoul.

Her diſtemper hourly increaſed; the phyſicians were ignorant of the nature of it; ſome ſaid it was the ſmall-pox, others that it was a malignant fever. The king forbid the dauphin to go into the apartment of the princeſs: this caution was now too late; already the ſame diſtemper was in his veins; the unhappy dauphin, overwhelmed with grief, love, and deſpair, and tortured with the moſt ſhocking ſuſpicions, ſaid to Madame de Maintenon, *Ah! if her death is haſtened! ——my God! my God! I pardon them.*

The holy ſacrament was brought from the chappel of Verſailles: the king attended it drowned in tears. The

* All this I copy from madame de Maintenon's papers.

The dauphineſs, after having received the communion with the moſt lively faith, ſaid to Madame de Maintenon, 'Aunt, I feel myſelf quite different from what 'I was.'

Madame de Maintenon, ſuppreſſing her ſobs, replied, 'You have received your God; he is your 'conſolation and will ſoon be your reward.' 'I am 'ſenſible of no grief, no regret,' added the princeſs 'but for having offended him.' 'This ſentiment,' reſumed Madame de Maintenon, 'is ſufficient to pro-'cure your pardon; but if health was reſtored to 'you———.' 'Ah!' anſwered the princeſs, 'I would 'conſecrate it to God, and to him alone; but, my 'dear aunt, I am very uneaſy about my debts: the 'dauphin knows them, I wiſh I might ſee him.' 'It is 'impoſſible,' ſaid Madame de Maintenon, 'you 'have the meaſles.' The dauphineſs then calling for her caſket, ſearched for the liſt of her debts, but her ſtrength failing her, ſhe ſhut it again, ordered it to be laid at the feet of her bed, and repeating her wiſhes to ſee her huſband, ſaid to madame de Maintenon, who was drowned in tears, 'Ah! my dear aunt, 'how greatly you affect me with your grief!'

She deſired to ſee the ladies of her houſhold. To the dutcheſs de Guiche ſhe ſaid, 'Farewell, charming 'dutcheſs, to-day a dauphineſs to morrow nothing.' Madam de Guiche replied, that God would reſtore her to the prayers of the dauphin. 'Ah, no,' ſaid the princeſs, 'he will try him with this affliction; for 'he afflicts thoſe whom he loves.'

The king was preſent, and freely indulged his grief. One of the attendants making the princeſs obſerve it, ſhe ſaid, 'If I loved him leſs, and if I was leſs be-'loved, I ſhould die without regret.' She intreated the king to pay her debts, to reward her domeſticks, and ſometimes to think of her.

Madame de Maintenon, influenced leſs by that grief with which ſhe was overwhelmed, than thoſe ſentiments of faith which animated her, never ceaſed exhorting the princeſs to the laſt moment, to reſign herſelf to the will of God. When ſhe beheld her

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in the agonies of death, ſhe gave free courſe to her tears: 'Suffer me to weep for my child,' ſaid ſhe to thoſe who endeavoured to comfort her; and embracing the princeſs for the laſt time, ſhe retired to her apartment, to weep and pray at liberty.

One of the courtiers brought a powder which he ſaid had wonderful effects, and related ſome inſtances of its efficacy. As all hope was paſt, they did not heſitate about giving it to the dying princeſs: this medicine brought back her ſenſes; 'Ah! how bitter 'this is!' ſaid ſhe. Madame de Maintenon at the news haſtened with eager impatience to her apartment; the princeſs ſaid ſome words to her, and expired.

The dauphin had paſſed the days and nights in prayer, ſometimes offering his wife to God, ſometimes conjuring him to reſtore her to him: when he was told that the fatal ſtroke was given, 'My God!' cried he, 'preſerve at leaſt the king.'

As he was entering his coach to go to Marli, he found himſelf indiſpoſed. The next day he received the communion, and went to join the king at Marli: he had a ſlight fever, which was attributed to his grief. He went to viſit Madame de Maintenon, to whom he ſaid ſighing, 'Whether Men have killed her, or God 'has taken her, I equally adore him in what he orders, 'and what he permits.' His ſuſpicions were thoſe of a tender and unfortunate huſband, who was ready to hate every huſband, more happy than himſelf.

That evening his fever raged with great violence; the phyſicians were apprehenſive that he would have the meaſles, but, the fever abating, they preſcribed to him nothing but reſt. The next day no ſigns of malignity were perceived in his diſtemper; and the following day he was ſo much better, that they declared they had been cauſeleſsly alarmed: and the king went to bed without any uneaſy apprehenſions.

But at twelve o'clock, the prince feeling himſelf ſhake and burn alternately, deſired he might receive the ſacrament. His phyſicians told him, that his diſtemper

diſtemper was not dangerous. 'I ſhall be dead,' replied the dauphin, 'before it is brought hither.' All who were preſent looked aſtoniſhed upon one another, not knowing to what they ſhould attribute theſe words.

At midnight the prieſt arrived, and celebrated maſs in his apartment. The prince received the communion with his uſual fervour; the celeſtial bread ſeemed to ſoften his pains: but a moment afterwards, feeling his bowels torn with increaſing torture, he demanded that extreme unction might be given him. It was refuſed: he inſiſted upon having it, ſaying, that if it was longer deferred, he ſhould be inſenſible when he received it. His ſoul ſeemed to raiſe itſelf towards God; he repeated the name of the dauphineſs; and by what he ſuffered, judging of her ſufferings, he offered his pains to the ſovereign maſter of mankind, and melted with tender grief, over thoſe of a wife who was now no more. *I burn*, he cried, and mingling with his confidence in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe terrors with which religion inſpires the dying, 'I burn,' he added, 'but fiercer fires are felt 'in that place where our ſouls are purified.'

The king was ſent for; he had left his grandſon well; he returned to his apartment, and found him agitated with convulſions, in the wildneſs of a delirium, in the agonies of death.

At this news Paris was in the utmoſt conſternation; the holy ſacrament was expoſed; the ſhrine of Saint-Genevieve was opened; the churches were filled with innumerable crouds of people; all made vows for the preſervation of a prince ſo affectionately beloved: but as ſoon as they knew that heaven had already diſpoſed off him, every face was overſpread with the deepeſt woe. No man was ever ſo tenderly lamented; it ſeemed as if the whole kingdom was undone; he, they cried, would have reſtored happineſs to France: the people have loſt their father, and virtue her protector. He had placed his chief glory in eſtabliſhing juſtice throughout every part of the kingdom, and in ſecuring to us the bleſſings of peace: he would not have loaded

loaded us with oppreſſive taxes, nor have given us up to the caprices of inhuman miniſters: God only ſhewed him to us, we ſhould have been too happy to have poſſeſſed him.

This ſorrow, and theſe mournful praiſes were heard in every other part of the kingdom, where they were informed at once of the dauphin's ſickneſs, his danger, and his death. All good citizens had flattered themſelves, that to the reign of a conqueror would ſucceed that of a father of his country; this reign was only deferred, and the duke of Burgundy now lives in his ſon.

This ſon drew near his laſt moment. His elder brother the duke of Bretagne, aged five years, was named Dauphin, and lived but fifteen days afterwards. 'Mamma,' ſaid he to his governeſs, 'the journey to 'Saint-Denis is not a very agreeable journey.'

Thus, in the ſpace of ten months, France ſaw the deaths of a dauphineſs, three dauphins, ſaw the fourth ready to be carried from the cradle to the tomb, and the duke du Maine in agonies, bidding the king his father a laſt farewell, who cried, *And this: muſt this be torn from me?*

Theſe tragical events did not depreſs the king. Unhappy in war, unhappy in the diviſions that rent the church, unhappy in the deaths of his children, he felt the force of all theſe misfortunes with the ſenſiblity of a man, but he endured them like a chriſtian. He thought God puniſhed his kingdom for the faults of its king; he adored his judge; he appeared as uſual in publick, no murmur eſcaped his lips; they had reaſon to think, that the king would never want children while he had ſubjects.

But notwithſtanding this fortitude, this patient reſignation, his domeſtick miſeries ſunk deep into his mind; his blood was corrupted, and he was ſeized with a kind of melancholy, attended with dangerous ſymptoms. Madame de Maintenon endeavoured to aſſuage his grief, by baniſhing thoſe cruel loſſes from his memory: but, overwhelmed with ſorrow herſelf,

herſelf, whenever ſhe thought of that dauphineſs ſo lovely and ſo much beloved; 'I weep for her,' ſaid ſhe, 'and I will always weep for her:' and a moment afterwards, ſubmitting to the will of providence, or believing that ſhe ſubmitted, ſhe cried, 'If God would 'reſtore her to me, I think I would not have her; 'ſhe is happy, ſhe is with him.'

From that time ſhe was afflicted with a continual fever: but neither her diſorder, nor her waſted ſtrength, could leſſen her aſſiduous attendance upon the king, and at Saint-Cyr; ſhe ſeemed to have one ſoul for ſuffering with the extremeſt ſenſibility, and another for acting with unceaſing vigour.

Theſe precipitate deaths occaſioned the moſt ſhocking ſuſpicions; they were attributed to poiſon, and the author was publickly named. The duke of Orleans, they ſaid, had evidently committed crimes, of which he only was to reap the fruit; his debaucheries, his impiety, his ambition, his hatred to the duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy, were deciſive proofs againſt him: he had himſelf, they added, compoſed the poiſon in his laboratory; he was univerſally execrated, and it was loudly demanded, that he ſhould be brought to trial; and that this victim at leaſt, ſhould be ſacrificed to the manes of the princes, and to the publick ſorrow.

Theſe reports, which calumny produced, and credulity received, ſeemed only to deſerve contempt, ſince they were founded on the wickedneſs of the human heart. It was reported, that when the bodies of the princes were opened, ſome ſigns of poiſon were diſcovered: this was falſe. It was confidently aſſerted, that Lewis the Fifteenth owed his preſervation to an antidote, which had been brought from Venice; and that, where it expelled the venom, he had a livid mark on his ſkin; and this alſo was falſe. It was pretended, that the king had commiſſioned the lieutenant de police to procure ſecret informations; and the king never gave ſuch an order.

They added, that an order for ſeizing the ſuppoſed poiſoner had been granted, and that the dowager dutcheſs

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of Orleans had prevented the ſigning of it; and this ſtory was as falſe as it was improbable. The author of The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, who in rejecting theſe calumnies, confirms rather than deſtroys them, adopts this idle tale, and puts it in the mouth of the marquis de Canillac, who told him, that Homberg, the prince's chemiſt, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner at the Baſtile; that the duke of Orleans demanded to be impriſoned; and the dutcheſs dowager intreated the king to give up her ſon to the laws.

I lately read thoſe anecdotes of Voltaire's to a courtier, a cotemporary of the duke's, and well acquainted with the ſecrets of the palace; and he aſſured me, that they were a ſeries of falſhoods, that the marquis de Canillac was a man of great probity, and could not have been guilty of affirming ſuch untruths.

However that may be, the king neither accuſed nor ſuſpected his nephew; and that circumſtance alone was ſufficient to clear him. The duke of Orleans, was, perhaps, capable of the vices of heroes, but not of the crimes of villains: he was not devout; but if deiſm excludes piety, does it neceſſarily exclude virtue alſo? He was ambitious, but that exceſſive ſweetneſs of temper which formed his character, would have ſtarted back with horror, at the bare idea of overwhelming all France with grief.

Quelques crimes toujours précèdent les grands crimes.
Small crimes muſt always flagrant crimes precede.

To reach the throne, he had ſeven lives to take away, which excluded him; was it likely that he would have ſpared the king, who might have revenged thoſe crimes? or the duke of Berry, who muſt have all the advantage of them?

Thus injured by thoſe frantick reports, which were continually reſounding in his ears, he ſhewed no ſigns of weakneſs, or of fear: he always preſerved the peaceful calm of conſcious innocence; diſdained to juſtify himſelf, appeared as uſual at court, and attended the funeral pomp to Saint Denis. . . .

This

This day, April 24. 1753, at eight o'clock in the morning, I am interrupted by an order from the king. I am torn from my friends, my family, and from myself. An exempt, and a commiſſary examined my papers, and took from among them, all that might have any relation to the Age *of Lewis the Fourteenth . . . . I have juſt dictated a verbal proceſs to the commiſſary, to which I have added authentick pieces, that evidently prove my innocence. The miniſter will find he has been impoſed upon. . . .*

This day, October 12. 1753, I am releaſed from the Baſtile. I know not yet the cauſe of this long confinement; but returning again into the world, I there find an atrocious libel againſt me, under the title of A Supplement to the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth. *In this book, Voltaire accuſes me to the publick, of what by his niece he ſecretly accuſed me to the miniſter; that is, of having renewed thoſe audacious calumnies againſt the duke of Orleans, which I was refuting at the very moment when I was arreſted. I am preparing to anſwer this unjuſt man*. I owe my injured honour this kind of vengeance, after which I will reſume the hiſtory of madame de Maintenon.*

CHAPTER XXX.

Renunciations made by the king of Spain, and the duke of Orleans.

WHEN the news of the ſudden deaths of ſo many princes, which rather brought Philip of Anjou than Philip of Orleans, nearer the throne of France,

* This anſwer has been publiſhed theſe two years, under the title of *An Anſwer to the Supplement to the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth.* Voltaire, inſtead of making any reply, or of confeſſing the injury, has, in ſome of his late writings, renewed the ſame calumnies, as if they had not been already refuted. Theſe new inſults have diſengaged me from the promiſe I made, never to mention him more: *Quis tam ferreus, ut teneat ſe?*

arrived in Madrid, the king of Spain declared, that if the young dauphin died, he would quit Spain for France. The duke of Orleans pleaded his right, and that of his ſon-in-law the duke of Berry; and demanded that Philip the Fifth ſhould yield to him his right to the throne of Spain.

All Europe thought the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans were abſolutely juſt; the general peace depended upon thoſe renunciations, which would prevent for ever the union of the two monarchies.

Lewis, who ſaw the little dauphin dying every day, wrote repeated letters to Philip, to prevail upon him to prefer the hope of ſucceeding to the crown of France, to the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain. He offered him a ſovereignty which would free him from ſubjection, or at leaſt a regency, which could fall upon no other than him. Philip was not able to determine his choice; theſe propoſals were very advantageous to him, but the conſideration of his children's intereſt forbid him to accept of them.

The princeſs Des Urſins was fluctuating between the fear of ſerving a dethroned queen, and the hope of being the favourite of a queen of France. The Spaniards, who conſidered the letters patents of the year 1700, as a violation of the teſtament of Charles the Second, which by preſerving to Philip the Fifth the claims of a Bourbon, gave them only a precarious king, impatiently expected the time when this king ſhould ceaſe to be a foreigner, and acquire a lawful right to their monarchy. Some of them, diſpleaſed at the irreſolution he ſhewed, and not willing to be eternally governed by Lewis the Fourteenth, under the name of Philip the Fifth, made vows in ſecret for the duke of Orleans, whom heaven had often ſeemed to promiſe to them, and whom they hoped at length to poſſeſs.

Mean time the princeſs Des Urſins, either to recover her health, or to confirm her favour at court by a ſhort abſence, went to drink the waters at Barege. She travelled with the ſtate of a ſovereign: ſhe had all

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the haughtineſs, and received all the honours of one. She was ſerved by gentlemen belonging to the king: ſhe was attended by his guards, twelve of whom were always in her ante-chamber as centinels.

This pomp enraged the Spaniards to the higheſt degree againſt madame Des Urſins, whoſe inſolence and pride increaſed in proportion as ſhe aſſumed new ſtate. No perſon blamed her more in ſecret for this conduct, than madame de Maintenon, and ſhe only endeavoured to excuſe it. Orry came to meet the princeſs at Barege, and from thence ſet out for Madrid, where he was more powerful and more deteſted than ever. Lord Lexington arrived there alſo, to preſs for the concluſion of the treaty between England and Spain.

The princeſs Des Urſins had renounced her claim to a principality in Flanders, only to oblige madame de Maintenon; but ſhe now reſumed that project, either to ſecure an aſylum for herſelf, in caſe of any reverſe of fortune, or becauſe ſhe was deſirous by this ſtep to approach nearer to that high dignity, which the death of the queen of Spain, who was fallen into a decay, ſeemed to promiſe her ambition.

She gained lord Lexington by her inſidious kindneſs, and artfully procured theſe words to be inſerted in this treaty, *The queen of Great-Britain obliges herſelf to procure a principality for the princeſs Des Urſins.*

Clement Generoſo, a gentleman of Valencia, who was the confidant of the Engliſh miniſter, perceived the force of this article, and reproached him with having exceeded his orders. Lexington, reflecting upon what he had done, ran to the palace in a rage, complained that he had been impoſed upon, and tore the treaty. The queen conjured him not to oppoſe the elevation of madame Des Urſins; the Engliſhman relented; the article was replaced in theſe terms, 'The 'queen of Great-Britain will employ her good offices 'to procure a principality for the princeſs Des Urſins.'

The form of the king of Spain's renunciation of the crown of France, was drawn up; Clement Generoſo weighed every ſyllable of it; the ſtates of the kingdom

were ſummoned; nothing was neglected that could give authenticity to this act, which the common intereſt of Europe guaranteed more ſecurely than all theſe precautions; but Philip V. had not yet ceaſed to be a Frenchman. During the fifteen days that preceded the ceremony, he was obſerved to be penſive and melancholy. When the moment came that he muſt renounce his country, he appeared in great concern, and when he laid his right hand upon the goſpel to pronounce the ſolemn oath, he could not retain his tears.

The perſon who bound himſelf by this act, was the only one who believed it valid. It is indeed highly probable, ſaid the politicians, that any prince would renounce the kingdom of France! On the day when the parliament of Paris regiſtered the renunciation of the dukes of Berry and Orleans to the crown of Spain, this maxim was repeated in every part of the palace, *No perſon can renounce his right to an inheritance which he is not in immediate poſſeſſion of.*

The princeſs Des Urſins had taken ſuch care to remove every difficulty to her own advancement, that ſhe thought herſelf ſecure of her principality; but d'Aubigné her agent ruined all in Holland. He offered that republick advantages in the Indian trade, greatly ſuperior to thoſe which had been lately granted to the Engliſh. The penſionary of Holland informed the queen of England of this offer, who, being greatly diſpleaſed with the princeſs Des Urſins, ſaid, 'Since 'ſhe has recourſe to others, I will abandon her.'

D'Aubigné, deceived by his hopes, preſſed the Dutch to conclude this treaty, and received only evaſive anſwers. Madame des Urſins imputed this bad ſucceſs to the arts of Clement Generoſo, and cauſed him to be arreſted, under pretence that he was born a ſubject to the king of Spain. Orry, the miniſter of her revenge, wrote theſe words below the order, 'If he ſhews any Intention of taking 'ſanctuary in a church, kill him.'

The duke of Berry's death opened thoſe wounds which the lenient hand of peace had already cloſed.

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The duke of Orleans now ſtood almoſt next to the throne. The people made vows for the preſervation of the little dauphin, whom France already conſidered as her father, and Europe as her child. The courtiers were apprehenſive that theſe vows would be heard *. They ſaid the death of the little prince would deliver them from the troubles of a thorny regency; ſo ſecure were they of the invalidity of the oaths of kings, and of the averſion of Lewis XIV. for his nephew.

Madame de Maintenon's letters ſhew the anxiety, which the delicate conſtitution of this laſt remaining branch of the dutcheſs of Burgundy gave her. The whole court turned their eyes upon the duke of Orleans. She was the only perſon who neither feared nor wiſhed him for a maſter: reſigned to the will of providence, full of hope that God would preſerve this laſt bleſſing of her country; and perhaps foreſeeing that this child, then ſo indifferent to the court, would be one day the idol of France; and that we ſhould live under that juſt and happy government, which the duke of Burgundy had made us hope for.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Bull Unigenitus.

FAther le Tellier was continually deploring the misfortunes of the church, and augmenting thoſe of the ſtate. While Quênel's reflections on the New Teſtament were under examination at Rome, he promiſed the king a ſolemn condemnation of that book, which the Jacobins haſtened by their ſuffrages, and the Jeſuits by their Intrigues.

Only thirty three propoſitions were at firſt denoun-

* Letters from madame de Maintenon to the duke de Noailles.

ced; but father le Tellier aſſured the king that there were above a hundred which were evidently heretical. *Ah, Father!* ſaid the king to him, in an accent which ſeemed to reproach him for this exaggeration: upon which the father confeſſor ſent to the holy office, the extract of a hundred and three hereſies. At this news the pope complained of the labour the Jeſuits cut out for him; and his miniſter alledged, that they abuſed the complaiſance of the conſulteurs for their ſociety.

Cardinal de la Tremouille, who was intruſted with the king's orders in the affair, preſſed for the examination of Quênel's book; but firmly perſuaded that in an infallible church, truth has no need of protectors, he neither ſollicited the judges in favour of Quênel nor againſt him. Several biſhops lamented the debaſement of the French clergy, from whom the cognizance of cauſes, which they had a right to judge, were taken from them. The Janſeniſts ſought to hinder, or at leaſt defer, the condemnation of Quênel, by impeaching father Jouvency's doctrine upon the independency of king's, to the parliament.

At length, after many artifices, proſecutions, and delays, the bull was ſigned and publiſhed. The king was at Fontainebleau when he he received it; the whole court was tranſported with Joy. No one doubted but that peace would be again reſtored to the church. Cardinal Noailles read it, and wept over the ruins of Jeruſalem. The next day monſieur Voiſin carried to him the form of acceptation; the archbiſhop congratulated him upon his dexterity, in compoſing uniform mandates, and ſome days afterwards the prelate publiſhed one, in which he forbid the inhabitants of his dioceſe to read Quênel's book. The king publickly expreſſed his joy for this ſubmiſſion; and madame de Maintenon aſſured the archbiſhop of her gratitude. She was ſenſible this ſtep had coſt her friend a great deal, and did not perceive that the mandate prohibited

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the reading of the book, but did not condemn it.

As ſoon as a French tranſlation of the bull appeared, all Paris ſeemed to have abetted the doctrine of Janſenius. Some ſaid, that the bull attacked the opinions and expreſſions of the fathers; others, that the holy ſcripture was forced out of the hands of the faithful. The new converts exclaimed, that the biſhop of Condom had deceived them; the philoſophers maintained, that if one abuſe of truth, ſubjected truth itſelf to the anathemas of the Vatican, errors might be found in the Lord's prayer, and in the apoſtles creed. The magiſtrates ſaid, that if unjuſt excommunications were to tyranniſe over conſciences, the king would quickly become a ſubject of the pope; and the libertines declared, that, if they were to hold propoſitions quite contrary to thoſe which were condemned, they would have a ſtrange kind of religion. On every ſide were heard the murmurs of perſons, whoſe conſciences were alarmed, and they may ſtill be heard; but if they were tolerated before the bull was accepted, they are heretical now that it is.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The aſſembly of the clergy.

THE buſineſs now was to give this bull the force of a law. The nuncio told the king, that his holineſs did not doubt but the clergy would receive it with all due veneration. Cardinal de Noailles and the firſt preſident propoſed the holding of provincial aſſemblies. The miniſter aſked the cardinal what would be the reſult of his aſſembly? The archbiſhop replied, that he could not ſo long before hand, foreſee the deciſions of the Holy Ghoſt.

The king, who was apprehenſive, that if the bull was received in one dioceſe and rejected in another,

it would make a ſchiſm in the church, believed that an aſſembly of biſhops, then reſiding in Paris, or at court, would produce unanimity; and that the provinces would readily conform to the deciſions of the capital. He accordingly ſummoned the aſſembly, and cardinal de Noailles was preſident of it.

Twenty-nine biſhops met at the palace of the archbiſhop of Paris; the cardinal told them, that formerly he had approved of Quênel's book, as containing pious inſtructions, delivered with great ſimplicity of ſtile, free from the rigour of ſcholaſtick divinity; and that if this approbation was a crime, it was the crime of a biſhop of Châlons, who was revered as a ſaint; of an archbiſhop of Paris, whoſe zealous oppoſition to Janſeniſm was well known; of a biſhop of Meaux, one of the ſtrongeſt ſupporters of the faith; of five doctors, the lights of the Sorbonne; of twenty prelates, who had recommended the reading of it, and multiplied the editions.

'This book,' added the archbiſhop, 'was not then 'become a party book: it is now condemned by the 'pope; I ſubmit to his deciſion. Mankind are liable 'to be deceived, and in this particular, I am more a 'man than any other. I ſhould have ſooner ordered 'this work to be ſuppreſſed, but I was prevented by 'the outcries of the three biſhops who had leagued 'againſt me. They endeavoured to force the con'demnation of this book from me by injurious lan'guage, by calumny, and by fraud. Under ſuch 'circumſtances, what weight could my mandate have 'had? Doubtleſs none; it would neither have been 'honourable for me, nor uſeful to ſound doctrine. I 'can ſubmit to lawful authority, but never to injuſ'tice and oppreſſion: I deſire no triumph but the tri'umph of truth; accuſed, condemned, abſolved, with 'truth, I ſhall always triumph.'

After this ſpeech, commiſſioners were appointed to examine the pope's bull. Some of the biſhops earneſtly wiſhed that it could be received without any examination; but the greater part ſaid, that the pope was not incorrigible.

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The commiſſioners, although choſen by cardinal de Noailles, affected to conceal from him the reſolutions taken in their office; cardinal de Rohan, who was the chief of them, obſerved the ſame caution; the biſhop of Châlons diſſembled; Biſſy, biſhop of Meaux, aſſumed great authority in the conferences; he was not pleaſed at firſt with the bull, but upon a cloſer examination of it, he diſcovered all its beauties.

Cardinal de Rohan, who preſided at the conference, ſuffered the biſhops to diſpute as they pleaſed, and ſeemed to think that it was beneath his high rank to contend about ordinances of faith; his great object was to pleaſe the court, without giving offence to the people.

At length he delivered to cardinal de Noailles a ſcheme for the acceptation of the bull. This was a writing in three columns; the firſt contained the form of the acceptation; the ſecond, the formula for the preſervation of the rights of the kingdom, and of epiſcopacy; and the third, the reaſons for thus accepting of the pope's bull. This ſcheme was ſo full of artifice and equivocation, that cardinal de Noailles eaſily perceived it was a production of the ſchool of Eſcabar.

The king, who was apprehenſive that the acceptation would be protracted, wrote to the aſſembly, that the conſtitution muſt be accepted ſimply and pure, without any explanation. 'Since the king has thought 'fit to deliver himſelf in this manner,' ſaid the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, 'we have no farther ſubject for 'deliberation; the prince is become the head of the 'Gallican church; but if this church be ſtill free, I 'repeat it again, we cannot accept of the bull but 'with explanations.'

Biſſy, biſhop of Meaux, and d'Aubigné, archbiſhop of Rouen, had ſolicited madame de Maintenon to obtain this order from the king. She did not perceive how greatly it diſhonoured the clergy; however, ſhe would not allow her name to be quoted in the preamble to a report, in which cardinal de Rohan declared, that Boſſuet, late biſhop of Meaux, had aſſured madame de Maintenon, that his opinion of Quênel's

book, was the ſame with that given by pope Clement XI.

The aſſembly ſtill continued to be held, but the biſhops now only met in ſmall numbers, and dined at the Hôtel de Soubiſe; there, with the glaſſes in their hands, in the midſt of luxury and of pleaſure, our lords the prelates diſcuſſed the merits of Quênel, and the efficacy of grace. Many perſons recalled to remembrance thoſe biſhops of former times, who prepared themſelves by faſting and prayer, for the examination of heretical books.

In theſe epiſcopal entertainments, cardinal de Rohan exerted all the arts of the moſt profound policy upon the minds of his reverend gueſts; the reſolute he intimidated, he animated the fearful, the obſtinate he overcame, and the wavering he fixed; however, eight of them would not aſſiſt at theſe conventicles, and reſolved to ſeparate from the general aſſembly, when they foreſaw that the bull would be accepted without any limitation.

The arguments they urged in defence of this conduct were, that the bull being obſcure, explanations were abſolutely neceſſary; that the biſhops were to judge of doctrine, and not blindly to execute the ordinances of Rome; and that their preſence could be of no uſe in deliberations where they began by debaſing the epiſcopacy, and would conclude with conſecrating by means of their acclamations, the dreams of father le Tellier.

At this news, the king terrified at the bare idea of a ſchiſm in the church, acquainted the cardinal, that he would not allow either him or his adherents, to ſeparate from the aſſembly; that their deliberations were entirely free, but that this diſunion would perſuade the publick they were not ſo. The eight biſhops ſubmitted to the king's orders.

At length they aſſembled at the palace of the archbiſhop, to hear the report of cardinal de Rohan, by which the prelates were to judge whether they ſhould reject or accept the bull. He began with ſevere cenſures of Quênel, then followed an oblique invective againſt

againſt cardinal Noailles, an oſtentatious eulogium on the conſtitution, indirect propoſals for a new formulary, long arguments in favour of Moliniſm: by his paſſing over the efficacy of grace in its own workings, he ſeemed to deny it; and not one word concerning the love of God was mentioned.

Such was the ſubſtance of his ſpeech, which for its eloquence was greatly admired, though blamed for its violence and ſeverity. It was thought a great hardſhip upon cardinal de Rohan, to be obliged to act the part of a vehement lawyer, inſtead of an impartial judge; and it was evident, that he obeyed, with great reluctance, the orders he had received from court. The harſh and ſevere things which le Tellier had dictated, cardinal de Rohan delivered in the gentleſt accent, and with the moſt inſinuating air imaginable.

The king, who was not willing to be accuſed of having laid any conſtraint upon the aſſembly, intreated cardinal Noailles to compoſe a form of acceptation. The cardinal obeyed. But this was rejected, becauſe he there declared that the biſhops were judges of doctrine, as well as the pope; and that they would not accept the bull, but with explanations, to be publiſhed in a paſtoral inſtruction. Rohan propoſed another form; his was found too favourable to the authority of the pope, and that wrote by cardinal Noailles, was too injurious to it.

Mean time the catholicks expected the deciſion of this diſpute with anxiety, and the hereticks with ill-concealed malignity. If five poſitions, ſaid they, which have been juſtly cenſured, and are confeſſedly heretical, have troubled the church ſo long, what confuſion may we not expect from an hundred and one poſitions; none of which are evidently erroneous, and which are all indirectly condemned?

The biſhops met again. All agreed to accept of, and explain the bull; but ſome were for explaining it before it was accepted, and others were for accepting it before it was explained. The archbiſhop

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of Tours was at the head of thoſe who voted for the former method; and the archbiſhop of Rouen diſtinguiſhed himſelf among thoſe who favoured the latter.

In this mixed aſſembly of courtiers and true divines, there was but one philoſopher, and this was the biſhop of Mans. 'I have not read Quênel's book,' ſaid he, 'but I have heard it greatly commended: thoſe who 'condemn it now, were formerly none of its leaſt 'defenders. I have been alſo informed, that this 'Quênel is a very good man: how then is it poſſible 'he ſhould have wrote ſo bad a book? On the other 'ſide, it muſt be conſidered that the book is con-'demned by the pope; and how could ſo good a 'pope grant ſo bad a bull? This contradiction makes 'the affair extremely perplexing. While ſaints ap-'plaud on one ſide, and a pontiff thunders out cen-'ſures on the other, what is to be done? It is my 'opinion that we ought to abandon Quênel, ſince we 'can do without him, and obey the pope, whom we 'have ſo much need of: but how, it will be aſked, 'ſhall we reconcile what we owe to truth, with what 'we ſacrifice to peace? Very eaſily, I anſwer. I 'have heard ſeveral biſhops, who have voted before 'me, declare, that the reading of the Bible ought to 'be prohibited, becauſe the Bible is obſcure. I have 'heard ſeveral other biſhops declare that the bull is 'obſcure; it is therefore my opinion that we ought to 'accept the bull, and prohibit the reading it.'

Cardinal Noailles gave the king an account of all that was ſaid and done in the aſſembly. The king did not ſeem offended at the oppoſition made by the nine prelates; but the next day the cardinal received a letter from the miniſter, wherein he was commanded to ſummon the aſſembly immediately, which it was his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould no more be interrupted, by the obſtinacy of ſome ill intentioned members.

All the biſhops met at the palace of the archbiſhop, to conclude this important buſineſs. After the paſtoral letter was read, and before the affair was again brought under deliberation, cardinal Noailles declared, in his own name, and in the names of eight biſhops, that

that they would not vote. The forty other prelates voted for accepting the bull; and all was determined in leſs than half an hour.

The cardinal de Rohan, as he went away, ſaid to cardinal Noailles, 'I did not take my reſolution, till 'I had conſulted the moſt rigid caſuiſts.' 'Nor did 'I take mine,' replied Noailles, 'till I had conſulted 'ſome of the leaſt rigid.'

If truth be the daughter of virtue, it will be eaſy to decide between theſe two men. Cardinal Noailles defended the rights of the Gallican church; cardinal Rohan graſped at the riches of it. One earneſtly implored of God the triumph of evangelical faith; the other was inceſſantly ſoliciting the grant of abbeys from the king. Noailles, in diſgrace with his maſter, and threatened with the thunders of Rome, enjoyed all the bleſſings of a mind at peace with itſelf. Rohan, ſupported by royal favour, immerſed in pleaſures, and ſatiated with wealth, could neither conceal his anxiety, nor calm his diſquiets.

The forty biſhops jeſted upon the rule of faith, which they had lately ſubſcribed. 'If we have put 'faith in ſecurity,' ſaid the biſhop of Mans, 'it is 'certain we have not been ſollicitous about truth.' When they were aſked why they had accepted the conſtitution, ſome anſwered 'for the ſake of peace,' others 'by the king's orders.'

The Janſeniſts took advantage of theſe free confeſſions. They ſaid, that the congregations, by which the bull had been compoſed, were under a reſtraint; and that the clergy who had accepted it, were in part ignorant and part corrupted. The Jeſuits anſwered theſe cenſures, as Arnauld and Nicole had many times anſwered the proteſtants, Man deliberates, but it is the Holy Ghoſt that determines. That pious and learned prelates ſhould diſcover the truth is very probable, but that light ſhould proceed from the boſom of darkneſs; that an aſſembly of fools and wicked men ſhould make theſe happy diſcoveries, is manifeſtly the finger of God; there is the myſtery of the doctrine of infallibility, ſo well calculated by fixing to exerciſe faith.

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The cardinal de Noailles was forbid the court; and his eight adherents were ordered to repair to their dioceſes. Madame de Maintenon was greatly afflicted at this growing ſchiſm, and abandoned the cardinal as a rebel to the authority of the church. The Janſeniſts accuſed her of being luke-warm and inconſtant in her friendſhips: but, on this occaſion, was ſhe at liberty to follow the motions of her own heart? was ſhe to ruin herſelf with her friend? had ſhe not ſuperior obligations to fulfil, than ſuch as aroſe from remote alliances and partial friendſhip? All catholicks conſider the voice of the greater number as an oracle from heaven; and, according to this rule, muſt not cardinal Noailles, when condemned by the pope, condemned by forty biſhops, condemned by all thoſe judges of ſound doctrine, who either formally accepted, or tacitly ſubmitted to the conſtitution, be conſidered as an enemy to the church?

It is not known what part madame de Maintenon had in the acceptation of the bull. Her letters to father le Tellier, which would have informed us, were all burned by father du Halde in the beginning of the regency: but whether ſhe had obſerved that neutrality and ſilence, which the moderation of her character, and the modeſty of her ſex preſcribed to her, or whether ſhe had yielded to the authority of popes and biſhops, and to her zeal for what ſhe believed to be truth, it is evident that, after the bull was accepted by the majority, ſhe was no longer at liberty to protect the chief of thoſe who refuſed to accept it. Her inclination would have led her to eſpouſe that party in which ſhe diſcovered the greateſt purity of manners: her conſcience forced her to join that in which ſhe ſaw the greateſt purity of faith. To her cardinal Noailles appeared a devout heretick, and cardinal de Rohan an orthodox, though worldly catholick.

Such as doubt whether, in this affair, ſhe was ſolely influenced by principles of piety, I refer to the collection of her letters; and to thoſe letters alſo, I refer ſuch as ſuſpect this piety to be feigned: her diſcourſe,

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her ſentiments, her character, were always uniform. It would be very ſurpriſing if a woman, who wrote on this ſubject to ſo many perſons actuated by different motives, ſhould have carried artifice to ſuch a height, as not to leave any traces of diſſimulation. Was it poſſible to be a hypocrite during eighty years? I repeat it: let theſe cenſurers read her letters, and then tell me, if the truth could uſe any other language than ſhe did.

The king, that he might put the laſt hand to the condemnation of Quênel, ordered the parliament to regiſter the bull; for it was ſtill believed, that the civil power might give the force of a law to a tenet of the church. The three attornies-general could not agree upon the form in which it was to be regiſtered.

Monſieur Jolly de Fleuri obſerved to the king, that letters patents were never given to any eccleſiaſtick aſſemblies but ſuch as were compoſed of deputies from the provinces, and repreſented the whole body of the clergy. 'I find,' ſaid the king, haſtily interrupting him, 'that you are only come to raiſe obſtacles to 'my will.'

The magiſtrate inſiſted upon the words, *Let us enjoin the biſhops.* The king acknowledged that thoſe words were too ſtrong: he ſaw, though confuſedly, that thoſe who had inſerted them in the letters patents, had made him play the part of a high prieſt: he approved of the word *exhort*, which was ſubſtituted inſtead of *enjoin*; and ſaid to his council, 'Whatever relates to 'the excommunication explain as you pleaſe, but do 'not embroil yourſelves with the pope.'

This was the only article that was ſubjected to the examination of the parliament, by whom the pope's bulls were regiſtered, not to conſtitute them eccleſiaſtical or civil laws, but only to atteſt, that they contained nothing contrary to the maxims of ſtate.

Father le Tellier aſſured the king, that all would be loſt if the word *enjoin* was altered, that by this the cardinal de Noailles was rendered guilty of high treaſon, and that the parliament, without abetting Janſeniſm,

niſm, could not reject a term ſo neceſſary and efficacious.

The next day the king ſaid to the firſt preſident, 'I 'do not examine whether I have a right to enjoin the 'biſhops to do any thing, but I enjoin you to let that 'word paſs.' 'Your council,' replied the firſt preſident, 'will not hear of it.' 'I will oblige them,' reſumed the king, 'to reſign their employments.'

Sire,' ſaid monſieur Jolly de Fleuri, 'has your ma-'jeſty reſolved upon this?' 'Yes,' replied the king, 'I have, and you know my pleaſure.' The chambers aſſembled; the Jeſuits had the whole parliament on their ſide, but the Janſeniſts had the abbé Pucelle.

The biſhops who refuſed to accept the bull, publiſhed mandates againſt it, which were decried at Rome, and defended by their partiſans. There was no need to anſwer by writings ſuch as could be refuted by peremptory orders from the king. Le Tellier was prodigal of letters de cachet, and this violence made the bull more odious. When authority reſolves to do the office of the law, it ought neither to be more ſevere, nor leſs juſt than the law: then might be ſeen a citizen arreſted upon the information of an enemy, treated like a ſtate-criminal for opinions in matters of faith, condemned without being judged, or judged without being heard: and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, no one complained of this abuſe of the ſupreme power; the perſecuted contented themſelves with lamenting that they could not be perſecutors.

Paris was overwhelmed with books on this ſubject. In ſome it was propoſed, that explanations of the bull ſhould be admitted, which greatly diſpleaſed his holineſs: and indeed it was highly improper that inferior biſhops ſhould preſume to explain what the univerſal biſhop thought fit to leave in obſcurity.

In others, the poſitions laid down by Quênel concerning grace, were by his diſciples almoſt propoſed in the ſenſe of Molinos. Quênel, who certainly knew what he intended to ſay, had a hundred times proteſted, that he underſtood them in the ſenſe of Janſenius.

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The pope, enraged at this rebellion, ſent a brief to the king, in which he exhorted him to raiſe his ſovereign arm againſt theſe innovators; like a tyrant who commands his viceroy, to waſte his province with fire and ſword. The Janſeniſts were certainly guilty; but to call in the ſecular arm to the aſſiſtance of religion, to believe that the prince has a right to ſupport anathemas with corporal puniſhment, is the moſt criminal and the moſt dangerous of all hereſies *.

The party oppoſed artifice to violence; conciliating meaſures were uſeleſs, and the proteſtant party of Europe ſtill rejoices to ſee in the Roman church, ſo numerous a flock, deaf to the voice of the ſhepherd; in appearance united to the holy ſee, and inwardly ſchiſmatick, ardent defenders of the infallible tribunal, and deſpiſers of the decrees which condemn them: obſtinate and incredulous children, who, driven by their mother from the houſe, ſtill ſeek to remain there for the pleaſure of tormenting her; and who confidently maintain to her, not that ſhe has no right to diſinherit them, but that they are not diſinherited by her; odious to catholicks, becauſe they too nearly reſemble proteſtants, and deſpiſed by the proteſtants, becauſe they are ſtill too good catholicks.

CHAP.

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* The limits of civil power are well marked in the holy ſcripture, Acts of the Apoſtles chap. xviii. *And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made inſurrection with one accord againſt Paul, and brought him to the judgment-ſeat, ſaying, This fellow perſuadeth men to worſhip God contrary to the law. And when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio ſaid unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdneſs, O ye Jews, reaſon would that I ſhould bear with you: but if it be a queſtion of words and names, and of your law look to it, for I will be no judge of ſuch matters; and he drove them from the judgment-ſeat.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The legitimated princes declared princes of the blood.

THE king, calm and compoſed in the midſt of thoſe diviſions which raged in his dominions, reſolved to ſhelter his natural children from the revolutions of a regency: his affection for the duke du Maine was nouriſhed by madame de Maintenon, who loved that prince as the work of her own hands; and was increaſed by thoſe fatal events, which had almoſt made the royal family extinct, and overwhelmed the head of it with affliction. In the duke du Maine, nature now concentered all that tenderneſs, formerly ſhared among thoſe children which Lewis had unhappily loſt.

The two legitimated princes already enjoyed the fineſt eſtates, the higheſt employments, and the moſt lucrative governments in the kingdom. In the year 1694, they took rank before the peers, and were the firſt ſubjects. In 1711, the king granted them all the honours and prerogatives of princes of the blood; and the duke of Burgundy made no oppoſition to this grant: it was a perſonal right, and no one envied them the poſſeſſion of it.

Lewis had done more than any of his predeceſſors, yet thought he had not yet done enough. Madame de Maintenon was continually repreſenting to him, that he could no otherwiſe ſecure to his children after his death, the enjoyment of thoſe eſtates and titles he had beſtowed upon them, than by communicating to them a grandeur which ſhould have its foundation in itſelf. Madame de Maintenon either would not, or durſt not make herſelf queen of France, and yet ventured to make princes of the blood.

Pontchartrain the chancellor, to whom the king imparted his firſt deſigns in favour of his children, replied, that this ſcheme was directly oppoſite to morality,

rality, and to the good of the ſtate; that it deprived the nation of the nobleſt of its rights, the rights of diſpoſing of itſelf; that it would people the kingdom with princes of the blood, whoſe dignity by becoming common would be debaſed; that each Frenchman would think himſelf injured by it, but eſpecially all thoſe great families upon which the choice might one day fall; and laſtly he urged, that ſuch a preheminence would expoſe thoſe to whom it was granted, to general hatred and contempt.

The firſt preſident du Mêmes ſaw leſs difficulties in the affair; he anſwered for the compliance of the parliament: he ſaid, that the legitimate princes could have no reaſon to complain, ſince the princes legitimated would not be called to the ſucceſſion, but in failure of them; that the royal family could not be diſhonoured by a regulation which prevented its extinction: the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouſe were already, by nature and by cuſtom, princes of the blood.

* *July* 1714.] The king's council were ſummoned to Marli, to deliberate upon this affair. They ſaid that a regulation of this nature concerned a matter of ſuch high importance, that they did not doubt but the king had already made all thoſe reflections upon it, that his profound wiſdom could ſuggeſt to him: they added, that if merit could give a right to the crown, none might more juſtly aſpire to it, than thoſe whom his majeſty honoured with his choice.

The edict was accordingly drawn up: in it the king declared, that to prevent thoſe troubles which muſt neceſſarily happen in the ſtate, if the royal family ſhould become extinct, it was his will, that in failure of the legitimate princes, the crown ſhould deſcend to the duke du Maine; and in failure of him, to the count de Toulouſe and his deſcendants.

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* The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, who either does not date facts at all, or dates them falſly, places this in the year 1715.

The parliament regiſtered this unuſual edict, without any remonſtrance It had never been more numerous. Nineteen peers gave their voices in favour of the edict. The legitimate princes voted for the legitimated. The duke of Orleans did not appear. Marſhal Villeroi made no compliments to the duke du Maine upon this occaſion. Pontchartrain the chancellor reſigned the ſeals; but all the reſt ſuffered without murmuring, this revolt of the ſovereign againſt the majeſty of the nation.

The king might have given ſtability to this edict, if he had intereſted in its preſervation, thoſe who alone had it in their power to attack it. He ought firſt to have declared the natural ſons of kings, princes of the blood, and the natural ſons of princes of the blood, dukes and peers. The edict would then have been unjuſt only with reſpect to the nobleſſe and to the people; and in France what are the people and the nobleſſe.

The dutcheſs du Maine, overjoyed that the rank of her huſband was made equal to her own, no longer kept any meaſures with the princes of the blood, The latter had a proceſs againſt the duke du Maine. They prevailed upon ſome chambers of the parliament, to reject thoſe petitions, in which the legitimate princes aſſumed the quality given them by the preceding edict. The king, by a declaration, commanded that for the future, in all judicial and other acts, they ſhould aſſume that quality: and that no difference ſhould be made between them, and the princes of the blood royal.

It was foreſeen, that theſe regulations would not long ſurvive the king; but the dangerous conſequence of ſuch examples, the honour of the nation, the ſanctity of the fundamental laws, required that they ſhould then be vigorouſly oppoſed. If it be true that parliaments repreſent the country, the country was then betrayed by the parliaments. The conſervators of the people's rights can neither be forced to abandon them, nor juſtified by any circumſtances that concur

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to prevail upon them. If reſpect for the will of an aged monarch, for the tenderneſs of an unhappy father, permits them to conſecrate injuſtice by their ſuffrage, why may they not be allowed to give the throne by decree to the uſurper, who ſhould demand it ſword in hand?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The laſt will of Lewis the Fourteenth.

LEWIS approached his end, and but juſt began to love his people. He would no longer ſuffer his miniſters to ſpeak to him of impoſts; he gave a dry reprimand to the marſhal de Montrevel, who propoſed to his majeſty, that a magnificent ſtatue of him ſhould be erected before Château Trompette, expoſed to the view of all who entered the Garonne, and a paſſage from the holy ſcripture inſcribed upon the baſe. When he made Voiſin chancellor he ſaid to him, *All I require of you is juſtice and clemency.* He ſeverely reproved a ſecretary of ſtate, who had torn the petition of an exile. 'How,' ſaid he, 'can you refuſe the unhappy, the conſolation of reading their defence?'

He often repeated, that he wiſhed to live a few years longer, that he might leave to his heir *a people luſty and fat.* The evening before he was to make a promotion of knights of his order, he ſaid to madame de Maintenon, who told him he was going to make a great many perſons happy, 'I am leſs affected with 'the joy of thoſe whom I ſhall oblige, than with the 'uneaſineſs of thoſe whom I muſt diſappoint.'

He was now ſeen to approach the holy ſacraments with equal regularity and edification; he beſtowed on indigence, all that money which formerly he waſted on his pleaſures. Every evening madame de Maintenon uſed to read to him that divine book in which kings are not flattered: ſhe dwelt upon the moſt affecting paſſages, and hence thoſe chriſtian reflections unfortunately too late ſuggeſted. He

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was apprehenſive, that France would be ſoon torn by inteſtine diviſions, and believed that a wiſe adminiſtration, ordained by his laſt will, would effectually prevent them. Although the power of kings terminates with their lives, yet Lewis the Fourteenth had reigned with ſo much glory, that he ſeemed to have acquired the right of ſtill reigning after his death.

He had many conferences with madame de Maintenon and monſieur Voiſin upon this ſubject. His firſt thought was to eſtabliſh a regent; divided authority appeared to him the greateſt error that could be committed in a monarchy. The duke of Orleans was unanimouſly rejected; he whoſe influence it was thought neceſſary to repreſs, was certainly not to be truſted with power.

The king ventured to propoſe the duke du Maine for regent during the minority. The chancellor told his majeſty, that ever ſince the edict of July, our laws no longer excluded the duke from that honour, but that our manners were not as flexible as our laws; that France would never willingly obey a prince, who after the death of his father, would be no more than a ſubject, and equal with the reſt; that ſuch a diſpoſition would be conſidered as an injury done to the honour of the nation, and would give weight to the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans.

The king, who ſtill thought that no greater misfortune could happen to the nation, than to be governed by the duke of Orleans, propoſed to create him chief of the councils, and appoint the duke du Maine lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Voiſin oppoſed this deſign alſo. He ſaid that two regents would never agree; that either he, who was maſter of the deliberations of the council, would become ſo of the army, or that he who was maſter of the army, would direct as he pleaſed the reſolutions of the council; that an equality of power would neceſſarily create jealouſy; that this jealouſy would interrupt the adminiſtration of affairs; and from that interruption, numberleſs misfortunes muſt enſue to the ſtate.

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He added, that by no law of the kingdom, was the creation of a regent during a minority required; that the quality of next heir gave a claim to the ſucceſſion, but not to the guardianſhip of the young king; that the duke of Orleans might, without any injuſtice, be deprived of the guardianſhip, and a council of regency be ſettled for the adminiſtration.

The king did not immediately reliſh this form of government. He conceived, that ſovereign authority could not reſide in a council without being divided; but at length he comprehended that unity of power might reſult from the ſentiments of many, as well as from the ſentiments of one ſingle perſon. As ſoon as he had adopted this plan, 'Let us compoſe this council,' he cried, 'and let the members of it be ſo judiciouſly choſen, that we cannot exclude one without injuring the publick.'

This choice was ſolely dictated by a love for the country. The duke of Orleans had the firſt place, which was due to his birth. The duke du Maine and the count de Toulouſe, ſincerely attached to the ſtate and the king; Voiſin, whoſe profound knowledge in the laws and the buſineſs of the ſtate, were univerſally acknowledged; Villeroi, one of the moſt honeſt men of the court; Villars, the moſt fortunate general of the age he lived in; d'Huxelles, of an inflexible virtue; Tallard, remarkable for the ſweetneſs of his manners; d'Harcourt, the friend of all who were unhappy: theſe were the members named by the king; the four ſecretaries of ſtate, and Deſmarets, comptroller-general of the finances, the nephew, the pupil, and the rival of the great Colbert, had deliberative voices in this council, before which all affairs were to be brought, and decided by a plurality of votes.

This regulation was ſubject to very palpable inconveniencies; for, firſt, it is not poſſible that affairs which come under the examination of ſo many perſons, can be ſoon determined; ſecondly, a people who have been accuſtomed to obey a monarch, will not eaſily be brought to endure the domination of a ſenate; and, thirdly, it was imprudent to offer to an enlightened

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and diſcontented nation, the model of a new government, fatal if was oppreſſed by it, and dangerous if not.

But the king was perſuaded, that the ſecretaries of ſtate would continue to be maſters each in his own department; that the council of regency would reſerve to themſelves none but affairs of great importance; and that ſeveral petty kings would be leſs pernicious, than the ſovereign authority veſted in a ſingle perſon: he believed that the ſlow proceedings of an ariſtocratick government would better ſuit with a minority, than the celerity of the monarchal conſtitution. The king's chief deſign was to maintain peace, both within and without the kingdom: it cannot be denied, but that by ſettling a council of regency, too numerous to be enterprizing, too full of jealouſies to concert either a war abroad, or a revolution at home, he excellently well anſwered this deſign. This inſtitution, notwithſtanding its faults, was preferable to the plurality of councils afterwards eſtabliſhed, a ſcheme ſo highly extolled by the abbé de Saint Pierre, and which, when ſo unfortunately put into execution, proved that Lewis the Fourteenth had, with reaſon, diſtruſted the abilities of his nephew.

However limited this prince's authority might be, yet it was not to be feared that he would extend and abuſe it. By the teſtament of Lewis, he was, in all the deliberations of the council, in caſe the opinions were divided, to have two votes. The duke of Orleans might often contrive to make this privilege neceſſary; he might influence the greater number by the mere grandeur of his name; he might intimidate his enemies by threats, always to be dreaded in the mouth of a prince ſo near to the ſucceſſion; and ſeduce others by his talents and his intrigues.

There was a neceſſity to find a counterpoiſe. The duke du Maine ſeemed the fitteſt perſon to balance the duke of Orleans; but as the abilities of theſe two princes were very unequal, the teſtator thought of an expedient to ſupply the deficiency in his ſon. The duke du Maine was appointed independent chief, and abſolute

ſolute commander of all the king's houſhold troops, with full authority over the governor. Thus one had the advantage of genius, the other of power.

The other articles were of little importance. The king, conſtant to what was good, as well as obſtinate in error, recommended to his ſucceſſor the hoſpital of the invalids, the edicts againſt duels, the convent of Saint Cyr, and the penal laws againſt the proteſtants. The author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth expreſſes ſome ſurpriſe that the king did not ſecure a penſion to madame de Maintenon; but it would have been more ſurpriſing if he had aſſigned her one. By ſuch ſolicitude he would have appeared to be ignorant of her extreme moderation, to have ſuſpected her diſintereſtedneſs, and have rendered all her virtues doubtful. The ſilence of the teſtator concerning the wife, with whoſe participation he made his will, was the fineſt eulogium that could be given her.

This writing was ſent to the parliament, accompanied with an edict, by which they were ordered to depoſit it in the rolls, and not to open it till after the king's deceaſe. This profound ſecrecy gave room for ſuſpicion, that the diſpoſitions in the teſtament were of great importance, and not at all favourable to the duke of Orleans.

By ſome it was ſaid, that a king of France could not bequeath his power; and that a tenant of the ſtate exceeded his authority, when he diſpoſed of the regency: but in general it was acknowledged, that Lewis as a father, had a right to provide for the preſervation of his grandſon, and as a king for the ſecurity of the kingdom. He could not make new laws, but he might eſtabliſh a government conformable to the old. A minority is a kind of interregnum: the ſovereign power can never fall into a ſtate of infancy; it is the ſame as when the prince is of age, but the exerciſe of it is very different. The perſon of the prince repreſents the law, and the will of the teſtator cauſes it to be ſtill executed.

Nothing was wanting to this teſtament but permanence and ſecurity: ſuch of the grandees as were by the king appointed for the council of regency, were in-

tereſted in ſeeing it obſerved; but not one of them knew that they were named, and this was a capital fault. The duke du Maine ſounded madame de Maintenon concerning the diſpoſitions of the teſtament, who, vanquiſhed by his importunity, prevailed upon the king to ſhew it to this prince and to his brother, upon condition that they ſhould act as if they had not ſeen it.

The duke du Maine replied, that he was not deſirous of being made acquainted with diſpoſitions, which the inviolable ſecreſy that was required of him would render uſeleſs for him to know. The dutcheſs du Maine reproached him with this ill timed caution: to repair it he aſked whether the king had recalled Philip; he found he had not, and from thence concluded that the duke of Orleans was appointed regent. When the dutcheſs du Maine was made acquainted with this ſecret, ſhe endeavoured to form an intimacy and friendſhip between herſelf and the duke of Orleans, who readily entered into her views, ſuppoſing he ſhould have more occaſion for the ſupport of his competitor, than he could have for his.

Accordingly the duke of Orleans propoſed a marriage between mademoiſelle de Valois his daughter, and the prince of Dombes, ſon to the duke du Maine. The duke and dutcheſs du Maine ſhewed no ſolicitude to conclude an alliance diſpleaſing to the king, becauſe it would unite the chiefs of two families whom good policy required ſhould be kept at a diſtance.

Madame de Maintenon, being informed of the duke du Maine's anxiety, and the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans, repreſented to the king, that no reſpect would be ſhewn to his intentions after his death; if he did not, while he lived, take proper meaſures to reſtrain the inordinate ambition of his nephew. She intreated him to aſſemble the members he had named for the council of regency, to cauſe the teſtament to be read to them, and make each of them promiſe to preſerve that portion of authority which was confided to him. She adviſed him alſo to ſecure the heads of the parliament in the intereſt of the Teſtament, as alſo his houſhold troops.

Inſtead

Inſtead of taking theſe precautions which prudence ſuggeſted, the king prefixed a codicil to his will, in which he regulated the ceremonial at the opening of it, appointed father le Tellier for confeſſor to the dauphin, and for his preceptor the old biſhop of Fréjus, the ſame who, at ſixty years, found the government of a ſmall dioceſe very difficult, and at ſeventy-ſix, the management of a great empire very eaſy.

The duke of Orleans uſed his utmoſt endeavours, to diſcover the myſtery ſo carefully concealed from him, and conſequently ſo very unfavourable to his intereſt. But the fidelity of thoſe who were intruſted with the ſecret, was not to be corrupted: madame de Maintenon was impenetrable; and the chancellor could not be moved by the alluring promiſes that were made him. The Duke of Orleans provided againſt every event; and, although unable to foreſee one, he ventured to oppoſe all. While he employed himſelf in ſmoothing the way to ſovereign power, the duke du Maine was buſied in tranſlating the Anti-Lucretius. 'You will, 'one of theſe fine mornings,' ſaid the dutcheſs his wife to him, 'find yourſelf at waking, a member of 'the academy, and the duke of Orleans regent of 'France.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

The diſgrace of Madame Des Urſins.

IN Spain the minds of the people were not more tranquil than in France. Madame Des Urſins ſtill continued to be odious to the grandees, and the nation was extremely enraged againſt Orry, who had permitted the Engliſh to build a fort upon the Rio de Plata, and who was ignorant of every thing but the art of amaſſing riches. The queen of Spain died: ſhe was greatly regretted by the people; they forgave her for the ill ſhe had done, in conſideration of her intentions, which were always good.

The firſt woman who offered herſelf to the eyes of the ardent Philip, conſoled him for her he had juſt

loſt; and this woman was the princeſs Des Urſins. She had the honour to ſup with him the evening after the queen's death: the palace reſounded with murmurs againſt this ſcandalous novelty, the people, accuſtomed to look upon the prince as a god, were enraged to find him thus openly deſpiſing their prejudices. They had patiently endured the heavieſt impoſts, but could not excuſe this indecent ſupper.

Father Rubio confeſſor to the late queen, and father Robinet confeſſor to the king, were divided in their opinions concerning the new-born paſſion of Philip for madame Des Urſins; the former maintained that it was wholly innocent, the latter declared it was an injury to the manes of the queen.

The princeſs Des Urſins ſuffered them to diſpute, and ſoothed herſelf with hopes that her ſtar called her to a throne. Already Philip had declared ſome tender ſentiments to her; already ſhe had inſinuated to him that ſhe was only ſixty years of age. She was continually reminding him of his grandfather's marriage with madame de Maintenon, whom he would have placed on the throne, ſhe ſaid, if decency had permitted him: and to give herſelf that air of dignity, ſo ſuitable to her ambition, ſhe refuſed to attend the corpſe of the late queen to the Eſcurial, alledging that ſhe had not been of her houſhold, but had lived with her in the character of a friend.

When theſe reports came to Paris, Lewis the Fourteenth rejected them as fables: but madame de Maintenon, who had been informed of all the particulars of this ridiculous amour, ſaid to the marchioneſs de Pompadour, who has often repeated it to the abbé——, the Florentine envoy at Paris, who is ſtill living, *I hope we ſhall ſoon ſee madame Des Urſins queen of Spain, and declared queen.*

A mere trifle hindered the celebration of this marriage. Madame Des Urſins prevailed upon Philip to reſide in the palace of the duke de Medina-Celi, and to enlarge it, by taking in the convent of the capuchin friars, that her apartment might have a communication with the king's. The bodies of the dead were diſ-

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of their graves; the holy ſacrament was taken out of the church; and the monks quitted their convent, walking in a melancholy proceſſion. All Madrid exclaimed againſt this act of violence. Philip, being informed of the cenſures that were paſt upon his conduct, told the princeſs Des Urſins, that their private interviews gave ſcandal to the people, and intreated her to look out for a wife for him.

Madame Des Urſins, fallen from the hope of reigning in her own perſon, was reſolved at leaſt to reign in another's. Being then embroiled with the French ambaſſador, ſhe entered into a ſtrict confidence and connection with the abbé Alberoni, an Italian curate, whom the duke de Vendôme had introduced to her, and whom Campiſtron the poet, had introduced to the duke de Vendôme. The princeſs Des Urſins conſulted the abbé upon the choice of a queen for this monarch, who was ſo great an enemy to celibacy. Alberoni determined her in favour of the princeſs of Parma; he told her this princeſs was weak, eaſy, and condeſcending, fond of pleaſure, and inſenſible to ambition. Philip was ſoon brought to approve the choice that madame Des Urſins had made for him. Alberoni, by her recommendation, was charged with the care of negotiating this marriage: he departed with many proteſtations of inviolable fidelity to her intereſts, but with a fixed reſolution to turn her artifices to his own advantage.

Madame Des Urſins was ſoon informed, that the princeſs of Parma was of a character very different from that which Alberoni had drawn of her. She repreſented to the king, that the inſolence of an ambitious wife would tarniſh the luſtre of his reign; that the affair was not yet concluded; and that it ought at leaſt to be ſuſpended till he had well conſidered of the conſequences. Philip wrote inſtantly to his miniſter to drop the negotiation. The courier arrived the evening before that day on which the whole affair was to be terminated. Alberoni was as at firſt ſtunned with this unexpected ſtroke; but recovering himſelf, and having taken his reſolution, he aſked the courier whether he

was willing to live or die? and ordering him not to appear till the next day, concluded the marriage.

The princeſs of Parma promiſed the abbé a recompence proportionable to the greatneſs of the eſtabliſhment which he had procured for her, and of the affront which he had ſpared her. Alberoni wrote to Spain, that the courier had arrived too late. The new queen brought her benefactor to Madrid with her, in the quality of reſident from Parma. When ſhe arrived at Bayonne, ſhe took leſſons from her aunt, upon the country where ſhe was going to reign. Philip came as far as Guadalaxara to meet her, and ſent the princeſs Des Urſins to Xadraque to receive her. The queen told her, ſhe was aſtoniſhed at her preſumption in daring to appear before her. The princeſs Des Urſins delivered her a letter from the king, full of obliging compliments to her who received it, and of praiſes of her who preſented it.

The queen, without opening this letter, commanded her to leave Spain. Madame Des Urſins intreated her to give her order under her own hand. The order was inſtantly ſigned, and given to her, with inſults and imprecations, which could only proceed from the mouth of an offended queen.

The princeſs Des Urſins thus diſgracefully baniſhed, departed without any equipage and train, curſing the perfidious Alberoni, the imperious Parmaſan, and the weak and credulous Philip. The new queen ſent back Orry and father Robinet to France; and the king of Spain declared candidly, in an edict, that hitherto he had governed his people ill, but would govern them better for the future.

Lewis the Fourteenth would not permit madame Des Urſins to remain in France. The republick of Genoa would not give her an aſylum, and the pope refuſed to receive her into Rome. Her letters * diſplay all her weakneſs, her artifices, and her deſpair; her death was approaching faſt, and ſhe ſtill aſpired to reign.

CHAP-

* A collection of theſe letters will be publiſhed, if the publick ſhould demand it.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Sequel of the affairs of the church.

CArdinal Noailles, desirous of being reunited to the church, published at length a pastoral letter, in which he promised to manifest the soundness of his faith, and to reconcile all differences. This letter gave satisfaction to all that read it except Rohan and Bissy. The king, who was prejudiced by these two prelates, expected no good consequences from the interposition of the cardinals D'Estrées and Polignac. 'Without 'being a divine, said he, I can see plainly, that the 'cardinal de Noailles is an heretick. I will make 'use of all my authority, to force him to an explana-'tion of his sentiments.'

Accordingly the king caused several reports to be spread, that were most likely to intimidate the cardinal. It was affirmed, that his majesty would permit the nuncio to interpose his authority against this rebel to the church; that the cardinal would be summoned in person to Rome, seized and imprisoned: and all this for pronouncing a bull to be obscure, in a religion where even the holy scripture is charged with obscurity.

Cardinal Noailles readily consented to make some alterations in his form of acceptation upon the remarks given in by his enemies. He adopted every reasonable measure which could contribute to the peace of the church, without wounding his own conscience. Cardinal Polignac assured the king, that the doctrine of Noailles was absolutely pure; and that the bishops themselves, who had accepted the bull, acknowledged this truth. 'You give me great satisfaction by this assu-'rance,' said the king, 'I am now easy.' 'But,' added he, 'forty against eight! How is it possible to 'ballance a moment between the two parties?'

'Sire,' replied Polignac, 'to speak justly, it is not 'forty against eight, but rather two against eight; for 'the cardinal de Rohan and the bishop of Meaux have 'been the chief promoters of this disturbance.'

It was now reſolved that the affair ſhould be once more carried to Rome. The publick were rejoiced at this news: they did not doubt, but the pope would be more moderate than father le Tellier. The biſhop of Meaux propoſed that a national council ſhould be held, and made a liſt of thoſe perſons who were to fill the ſees vacant by the depoſition of the rebellious biſhops.

The king, mean time expected with anxious impatience, the cardinal's paſtoral letter. He received it at length, but did not find it ſuch as cardinal Polignac had promiſed him. 'The cardinal de Bouillon,' ſaid the king, 'durſt preſume, in a kind of frenſy, to tell me 'he was not my ſubject: but the cardinal de Noailles 'breaks in writing the promiſe he has ſolemnly given.'

Cardinal Polignac was accuſed of having impoſed upon the king. 'His majeſty is convinced,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'that cardinal Polignac has con-'ceived and given hopes, as light and inſincere as 'himſelf. The cardinal was greatly affected with this charge: he was ſenſible how much he had fallen in the eſteem of the publick, and was anxious to juſtify himſelf, but could not reſolve to ſay any thing to the prejudice of cardinal Noailles. The king was even informed that he attempted to excuſe him. 'Mon-'ſieur, ſaid Lewis to him, 'truth is always the ſame; 'when you are with me, you complain of the arch-'biſhop of Paris, and to others you ſpeak very differ-'ently: what am I to underſtand by this?

Theſe words threw Polignac into the utmoſt conſternation; he went to madame de Caylus, and told her, with great emotion, that the king thought him light and ſuperficial; that madame de Maintenon accuſed him of inſincerity; that cardinal Noailles believed him falſe to friendſhip; that Rohan and Biſſy conſidered him as one whom they could cruſh into nothing; and that by the publick he was looked upon as one diſhonoured and undone.

The king at length reſolved to call a national council, and ſent monſieur Amelot to Rome to ſolicit the pope's permiſſion for it, as if the firſt emperors had

not

not ſummoned œcumenical councils without the pope's conſent. Amelot departed, after having received the king's orders, the furious memorials of Biſſy, and the calm and modeſt apology of Noailles.

The cardinal de Rohan being apprehenſive that he ſhould loſe the honour of accommodating this affair, renewed the proceedings in France: he confided the management of it to father Maſſilon, an excellent orator, but one who had no great abilities for negociation. This father preſented ſeveral forms of acceptation to cardinal Noailles; but in each his eminence was required to acknowledge, that he had approved a bad book, and condemned a good bull.

The king intreated Madame de Maintenon to uſe all her endeavours to ſecure the ſucceſs of this new attempt, in which he was not willing to appear; ſhe was aſſiſted on this occaſion by the duke de Noailles, whoſe partiality no one feared, and by the biſhop of Meaux, who concealed his from her alone.

The jeſuits oppoſed the convening a council, whoſe deciſions they feared, if free; and believed uſeleſs, if otherwiſe. The biſhop of Meaux again went to cringe to the metropolitan, whom he ſought to depoſe; he propoſed ſeveral expedients to him, which were all refuſed, as tending to the acceptation of the bull. 'Is it then your intention,' ſaid he to the cardinal, 'to humble the ſovereign pontiff?' 'No,' replied Noailles, 'but I will not violate truth.'

Valincourt and the abbé Meingui now undertook the affair: they found themſelves without power, they treated without frankneſs, and parted without ſucceſs. Every day cardinal Rohan propoſed ſome new meaſures; but, at the moment when all ſeemed determined, he would cry, he muſt ſpeak to the king, that is, to father le Tellier; and nothing was concluded.

The pope had entered into every poſſible method of conciliation; no one leſs believed in his infallibility than himſelf; but, tired with theſe long delays, he diſpatched a rigorous brief into France, the purport of which was to deprive Noailles of the dignity of a

cardinal, and afterwards to cite him to Rome. But before this could be done, it was neceſſary that the cardinal ſhould be alſo deprived of his privileges as a Frenchman, and the holy father found no difficulty in believing that a king of France could take from a citizen the rights of a citizen, without having condemned him. The next day the pope diſpatched a gentle brief, which cardinal Noailles however thought very ſevere.

This prelate was now prepared againſt the worſt that could happen to him; he was told that he would be carried to Conſtans, confined in a place where the father confeſſor would be his gaoler, conducted to Rome under a ſtrong guard, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Saint-Angelo for the reſt of his life. The cardinal liſtened to this diſcourſe with the indifference of one whom it did not in the leaſt concern.

The nuncio received another brief, in which the archbiſhop of Paris was ordered to accept the bull in fifteen days, upon pain of canonical puniſhment. This ſevere brief was accompanied with a letter from the pope to the king, in which the holy father intreated his majeſty to ſuffer his nuncio to act uncontrolled in this affair. The king anſwered like a protector of the laws of his kingdom, 'I will not ſuffer it; the 'pope is maſter in his own ſtates, but not of one of 'my ſubjects.' However, he was willing that the cardinal ſhould be depoſed by the decree of a council. But the pope would not abandon himſelf to *a hundred wolves, who,* ſaid he, *would devour me while alive.*

Cardinal Noailles wrote his mandate; the jeſuits condemned it, the pope admired it; the king would not ſuffer it to be publiſhed, leſt it ſhould give offence to his holineſs, and the French were on this occaſion, more Ultramontaines than the Ultramontaines themſelves. When Madame de Maintenon heard this news, 'I comprehend nothing of this affair,' ſhe cried, 'if the cardinal is a Janſeniſt, the pope muſt certainly 'be one alſo.

The cardinal's enemies were more certain of the king's concurrence in their meaſures, than with that

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of the council; they drew up a declaration, by which his majeſty as pope of the Gallican church, denounced the puniſhment of hereticks againſt all who ſhould refuſe the bull. But if the biſhops betrayed the church, the magiſtracy defended it. The firſt preſident and the attorney-general, when they received this declaration from the hands of the king, looked on each other in an emphatick ſilence. 'Speak,' ſaid the king to them. 'We are apprehenſive,' replied one of them, 'that your majeſty by this declaration encroaches upon the authority of the church.' 'I have done nothing now,' replied the king with great ſimplicity, 'but what I am told I may do and what I have done before.'

The king's anſwer amounted only to this: 'I have judged the Huguenots, therefore I may certainly judge the Janſeniſts.' But, enraged that the parliament ſhould preſume to queſtion that authority which was invoked by the prelates, he ſaid that he would hold a bed of juſtice. Voiſin haughtily threatened the firſt preſident; who replied, 'Do you imagine you are the chancellor of a king of twenty-five years of age?'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The death of the king.

LEWIS, loaded with age and afflictions, fell into a ſwift decay. Madame de Maintenon perceived it, was alarmed, yet would not acknowledge to herſelf her fears. The duke du Maine intreated her to perſuade the king of the neceſſity there was, that before his death, he ſhould take proper meaſures to render his teſtament permanent and ſecure. Madame de Maintenon could not be prevailed upon to undertake this taſk, either becauſe ſhe thought his death not ſo near, or that ſhe was apprehenſive of haſtening it by repreſenting to a prince, to whom Daguaſſeau's oppoſition to the declaration had given a mortal wound, that his parliament might poſſibly fail in their obedience to his laſt will.

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When the king returned from Marly he appeared ſo weak and ill, that madame de Maintenon thought of nothing but preparing him for eternity. She propoſed to him to receive the ſacraments. 'It is time 'enough yet, ſaid the king. 'I find myſelf very 'well.' She repreſented to him, that he could not too ſoon implore a pardon from God for his ſins; and reminded him of ſeveral which ſhe had been a witneſs of. The king made a general confeſſion to his director, and afterwards ſaid, 'Now I am eaſy.'

He called for his caſket, and examined all his papers. He ordered one to be burnt, ſaying, 'This will ſet 'the two miniſters at variance.' He found a roſary, which he gave to Madame de Maintenon, ſaying with a ſmile, 'I do not give you this as a relick, but 'as a token to remember me by.'

His firſt ſurgeon Fagon declared that the limb had mortified, and that there was no longer any hope. He pronounced this ſad ſentence with tears and ſighs. 'Did you then believe me immortal?' ſaid the king to him.

Maréchal made two inciſions with a lancet. The king felt no pain, but fainted. The phyſicians, ſeeing his fortitude, propoſed amputation. 'Will 'amputation ſave my life?' ſaid the king. 'Speak 'freely.' Maréchal replied, that there was little probability of it. 'Well' ſaid the king, if it will be uſeleſs, 'why would you give me more pain?' He then turned to that ſide of the bed where Marſhal Villeroi was, and ſaid to him, 'Adieu, my friend; we muſt 'part.'

At Paris and at Court, they murmured loudly againſt father le Tellier, for daring to let his penitent die, ſeparated from the communion with his own particular paſtor. Theſe murmurs even reached madame de Maintenon, who aſked the king whether he had any perſonal enmity to the cardinal? 'No 'truly,' replied the King, 'and if he will come hither 'ſoon enough, I will embrace him, provided he will 'ſubmit to the pope; for I am reſolved to die a good 'Catholick, as I have lived.' A courier was inſtantly

ly diſpatched to the cardinal, who found him proſtrate before the holy ſacrament.

Father le Tellier endeavoured to preſerve his influence over the king during his laſt moments. He preſſed him earneſtly to ſign a paper, by which the duke of Orleans and the parliament of Paris ſhould be obliged to maintain the bull. He offered it four times, and four times it was refuſed. The king's attendants forbad him to mention again that conſtitution which had murdered their ſovereign.

From the time that the king was ſeized with this laſt illneſs, madame de Maintenon had cauſed a bed to be put up for her in his apartment. She was witneſs to his ſufferings and his fortitude. Her whole ſoul was penetrated with theſe frequent aſpirations; *Will theſe agonies continue longer ſtill?——Oh, my God! life or death is equal to me: all I implore is the ſalvation of my ſoul——I have no reſtitutions to make as a private man, but as a prince——Who will pay the kingdom's debts. My God, I truſt in thy mercy——I ſuffer but I ſuffer not enough, and that afflicts me.*

He ordered the duke du Maine to be called, and confided to him the regulations made in his teſtament. The prince thanked him for the dangerous honour he conferred on him; but added, that the duke of Orleans would be offended at it. *You will be above his reſentment,* replied the king.

He embraced the duke of Orleans; he told him that he had always loved him, and that he would find by his teſtament that he had not injured him. He earneſtly recommended it to him to become pious and good, and to preſerve to Lewis the Fifteenth his kingdom. Obſerving that at this word madame de Maintenon ſighed, 'Why this concern, added he; 'I am willing to die,'

He ordered the dauphin to be brought to him, and, taking him in his arms, *My Child,* ſaid he to him, *you are ſoon to be a great king; be always a good chriſtian. I have been too fond of war: ſhun my example there, endeavour to live in peace with your neighbours. In all your actions have the glory of*

God

God in view. Conduct yourself so as to be honoured by your subjects. Love them. I am grieved, added he, sighing, *for the condition I leave them in. Always follow such councils as are most moderate. Endeavour to lessen the taxes: do what I have been unhappy enough not to have done. Never forget the obligations you have to madame de Ventadour. As for me, madam,* added he, addressing himself to the governess of the young prince, *I cannot sufficiently shew how much I am indebted to you.*

The king after giving these counsels, and making this magnanimous confession of the errors of his reign, embraced his grandson twice, gave him his blessing, and raising his supplicating hands to heaven, uttered an ardent prayer for the young prince, while he followed him with his eyes, as he was carried out of his apartment.

The princesses his daughters entered, lamenting aloud. *There is no necessity for crying thus,* said the king to them smiling. Two of them between whom a quarrel was then subsisting, were reconciled immediately. The king exhorted the duke of Bourbon to maintain union in the royal family, and recommended to the example of the prince of Conti, the virtues of his ancestors.

After receiving the viaticum, he said to the cardinals de Rohan and Bissy, *I am well assured of your zeal for the truth. I have left proper orders for supporting you after my death. God is my witness, that I have had only the peace of the church in view. I had hoped to establish it; God has been pleased to reserve this blessing for another. I have been thought in this affair to have acted upon prejudice, and to have abused my authority. I wish it may be happily terminated in other hands.*

The same day he gave orders that all the lords should be permitted to enter his apartment, and said to them, *Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for the bad examples I have given you. I return you my thanks for the affections you have always expressed for me, and I make it*

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my requeſt, that you would preſerve the ſame fidelity to my grandſon. I recommend to you all, to promote a general union; and if any one of you ſhould break it, uſe your utmoſt endeavours to recall him to his duty. I feel myſelf greatly moved, and I perceive that I move you alſo. Adieu, gentlemen; remember me ſometimes.

As for you, monſieur le Maréchal, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to Villeroi, *I give you dying, a new mark of my confidence; I appoint you governor to the dauphin. You know by my teſtament, how you are to act with regard to the duke du Maine. I hope my nephew will live with you as he ought to do with a man that I have ever loved.*

After having recommended the adminiſtration of the finances to Deſmaretz, and the foreign affairs to Torcy; *and do you, monſieur Pontchartrain,* added he, in a reſolute accent, *expedite a brevet, exactly in the ſame form with that of the late king, for delivering my heart to the jeſuits.*

The king took his leave of all his friends and relations with a dry eye; but when he took leave of madame de Maintenon he could not reſtrain his tears. *I regret nothing but you,* ſaid he to her: *I have not made you happy; but all the ſentiments of affection and eſteem, which you have ſo well deſerved, thoſe I have always had for you.* He ſaid the moſt tender and obliging things to her, which ſhe afterwards committed to paper, and joined to her laſt will. And before all the princes he added, *My only affliction is to part with you; but I hope to ſee you ſoon again in eternity* *.

When the princes were withdrawn, he ſaid to her, *What will become of you? You have nothing.* *I beſeech you,* ſaid ſhe, *do not think of me. I am nothing.* He raiſed himſelf up in his bed to embrace her; but, finding

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* I ſhall not be at the trouble to refute the groſs falſhood reported by monſieur de Bouldeuc, the king's firſt apothecary: he declared that madame de Maintenon, turning to the company, ſaid, *What a fine rendezvous he has given me! This man never loved any thing but himſelf.*

ing his tears ready to flow with violence, he bid her obſerve if any perſon was liſtening; *Although*, added he, *no one can be ſurpriſed, that I ſhould be melted into grief at parting with you.*

He ordered the duke of Orleans to be called, and ſaid to him, *Nephew, I recommend madame de Maintenon to you. You know the ſentiments I have always entertained for her. She has never given me any but good counſels, and I repent that I have not followed them all. She has been of great uſe to me upon every occaſion, but eſpecially to bring me back again to God. Grant all her requeſts; ſhe will never abuſe your kindneſs.* The duke of Orleans repeating this converſation, ſaid, in the preſence of a relation of madame de Maintenon's, 'I 'thought at that moment that he was going to declare 'his marriage to me.'

The laſt words the king uttered were addreſſed to madame de Maintenon; upon recovering from a fainting fit that held him a long time, *You muſt certainly, madam,* ſaid he, *have great fortitude, and great affection for me, to remain here ſo long. Withdraw, I beſeech you. I know what you muſt ſuffer with ſuch a ſpectacle before your eyes, but I hope all will be ſoon over.* He grew delirious; he no longer knew any one about him. Madame de Maintenon returned to her own apartment, to weep at liberty for her king, her friend, and her huſband.

IT is not to be expected that what follows will be either long or intereſting. What can we ſeek to know in the life of madame de Maintenon, when, with reſpect to the publick, that life is at an end? When Lewis the Fourteenth was no more, ſhe ceaſed to be: the publick curioſity neceſſarily ends with the perſon who excited it. She is nothing now but a feeble body, loaded with years and infirmities, buried in a cloiſter, exhauſted with pain, or languiſhing in a bed. Let us however have the ſame curioſity as the Czar Peter expreſſed; let us draw the curtain, and contemplate her once more in her laſt moments.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Madame de Maintenon retires to Saint Cyr.

Aug. 29. 1715. THE king ſtill breathed, and while his moſt faithful ſervants were diſſolved in tears about his bed, the courtiers preſſed round the duke of Orleans: Madame de Maintenon aſked herſelf, whether ſhe ought to wait for the laſt mortal ſtroke, or ſpare her afflicted heart this dreadful duty. She thought it ſhameful not to cloſe the king's eyes, and imprudent to expoſe herſelf to that publick exceſs of grief which the ſight of ſuch a corps muſt inſpire. Her attendance was now no longer of any uſe; his ſenſes were gone; he was ſtruggling with death; he ſuffered perhaps, but at leaſt ſhe ſhould ſee him ſtill.

Every moment ſhe aſked Fagon queſtions concerning the king. She went herſelf to ſeek the dreadful certainty; with trembling impatience ſhe directed her ſtreaming eyes to that face already covered with the ſhades of death. She ſent mademoiſelle d'Aumale, to ſee if it was true, that there no longer remained any hope.

Marſhal Villeroi, who was the witneſs of theſe violent agitations, conjured her to retire. 'It is my duty,' anſwered ſhe, 'to receive his laſt ſigh, and I have ſtill 'ſtrength and courage enough for that ſad office.' Her tears and ſobs ſhewed the want of that reſolution of which ſhe boaſted. 'Alas, madame,' ſaid Villeroi to her, 'I loſe my benefactor, and can with difficul-'ty keep my grief within bounds; you loſe the beſt of 'friends; how will it be poſſible for you to reſtrain 'yours? Are you willing that all France ſhould ſee 'you deliver yourſelf up to the firſt tranſports of your 'ſorrow?' 'But, reſumed madame de Maintenon, 'he ſtill lives, and perhaps will wiſh to ſee me once 'more. 'Alas! cried ſhe, ſobbing, if his laſt looks 'ſhould ſeek me, and find me not.

The marſhal promiſed her, that, if he once pronounced

nounced her name, ſhe ſhould be immediately informed of it, and at length perſuaded her to depart: however, ſhe inſiſted that the abbé Briderei, her confeſſor, ſhould ſee the king, and aſſure her, that ſhe was no longer neceſſary to him.

She was apprehenſive of meeting with thoſe inſults which the favourites of deceaſed kings generally ſuffer from the populace; ſhe therefore went from Verſailles to Saint-Cyr, in marſhal Villeroi's coach, who cauſed his own ſervants to eſcort her, and placed guards at equal diſtances upon the road: precautions which her friend thought unneceſſary while he took them. He knew that if calumny had formerly endeavoured to blacken her character, ſhe had ſilenced calumny for many years. All Verſailles was witneſs to her virtue; were there any poor there, whom ſhe had not ſuccoured? any families reduced to ſecret poverty, whom ſhe had not ſecretly relieved? Her reſolute piety, in exhorting the dying king, had been ſo much admired in Paris, and in the neighbouring provinces, that it was repeated from mouth to mouth, *She is not a woman, ſhe is an angel.*

She arrived at Saint-Cyr with mademoiſelle d'Aumale, who was ever moſt faithfully attached to her. She wept, but ſhe wept like a chriſtian. 'My grief 'is great,' ſaid ſhe to her by the way, 'but it is ſoft 'and tranquil. I ſhall often weep, but my tears will be 'tears of tenderneſs; for, in the bottom of my heart, 'his chriſtian death gives me joy. I have already 'offered a thankſgiving to God for it. From the be'ginning of his ſickneſs, I have never prayed for his 'life, but for his ſalvation.'

Some moments afterwards ſhe ſaid, 'Let us go and 'weep for him, and, by our prayers, haſten his glory 'in heaven;' and again, 'let us no longer think of 'any thing but our ſalvation and of doing good works.' Theſe words were interrupted by floods of tears; and mademoiſelle d'Aumale, full of ſympathizing ſorrow, conſidered with wonder a mind naturally firm and reſolute, at this moment weak to exceſs, ſtriving to aſſume fortitude, and finding itſelf too exquiſitely tender.

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When ſhe perceived Saint-Cyr, ſhe ſaid, 'Alas! that 'houſe loſes its father and its mother. I ſhall ſoon 'become uſeleſs to it, after having been its ſupport 'with him for whom we weep.' When ſhe entered, her tears and and her groans redoubled. 'God, and 'my children,' cried ſhe, 'ſhall now only poſſeſs me.' Theſe children paſſed in review before her, to the end that every object which could augment her grief might be united in that ſad day. To the ladies ſhe ſaid, 'Let us employ the remainder of our lives in inſpiring 'them with that ſolid piety, which the king had hap-'pily acquired.' When ſhe named the king, ſhe could not reſtrain her tears. She ſaid to madame de Glapion, who appeared aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo much weakneſs joined with ſo much fortitude, 'Daughter, one may weep 'for a king.'

Marſhal Villeroi ſent a courier to her every hour, with meſſages concerning the dying monarch. She paſſed the night and the two following days in expecting theſe meſſages, in receiving them, in expecting them again, and in deſpair at having received them. She prayed, ſhe wept, ſhe ſpoke, ſhe thought only of the king, and was wholly regardleſs of herſelf.

Sept. 2.] The king was dead, and no one durſt inform her of it. At length mademoiſelle d'Aumale entered the chamber, and in a mournful accent, ſaid to her, 'Madam, the whole afflicted community is at church.' Madame de Maintenon roſe immediately, went to the choir, aſſiſted at the office for the dead, and the next day at the ſervice: tears might have been ſuſpected of ſome returning anxiety for herſelf, prayers could not be ſo; in her was not ſeen that deſolation which uſually attends exceſſive ſorrow; ſhe expreſſed no regret for the loſs of her grandeur; her lips uttered no complaint for the cruel future which ſhe foreſaw: ſadneſs was painted upon every face; every thing concurred to augment her affliction, yet ſhe carefully ſuppreſſed every motion which might manifeſt its force. The archbiſhop of Rouen and the biſhop of Chartres came to mourn with her. As ſoon as ſhe perceived them, ſhe kneeled, and deſiring their benediction,

diction, ſaid to them, 'I put myſelf into your hands, 'in all probability I ſhall die there.' The prelates raiſed her, confuſed at giving their benediction to her whom they ſo highly revered.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The king's teſtament cancelled.

THE outrage which was afterwards offered to the memory of the late king, did not permit any ceſſation to her grief. The day after his death the parliament aſſembled; the French guards, with the duke of Guiche at their head, took poſſeſſion of the avenues and the court of the palace. The great hall was filled with officers, who had arms under their cloaths. Paris, with eager impatience, expected the maſter that was to be given to her; at length the duke of Orleans entered: that man, ſo intrepid at the head of an army, trembled before the ſenate, by whom his claims were to be decided; and, in a faultering accent, he thus delivered himſelf:

'Gentlemen, the firſt of ſubjects owes to his king 'the moſt faithful attachment; he, whom we loſt, 'well knew that this was my ſentiment; and hence 'proceeded that confidence he placed in me, when, a 'few minutes before his death, he expreſſed himſelf 'in this manner; '*Nephew*, ſaid he to me, after having 'received the viaticum, *I have made a teſtament, in 'which I have reſerved to you all the rights and privi-'leges of your birth. I recommend the dauphin to you; 'be as faithful to him as you have been to me, and pre-'ſerve his kingdom to him. If France ſhould loſe him, 'you will be her ſovereign, and the crown will belong 'to you.'*

The firſt part of this ſpeech was true; the following was not ſo; and the laſt was odious. Thoſe who knew, that by the ſecret articles of Raſtat, the duke of Orleans was excluded from the throne, were alarmed at ſo groſs a falſhood. The friends of the late king perceived that no one believed him, and turned pale to find that he was liſtened to without any emotion.

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The duke of Orleans continued thus: 'To theſe 'words the king added many others, too advantageous 'for me to allow me to repeat them, and concluded 'with ſaying, *I have made ſuch diſpoſitions in my will, 'as I thought the moſt prudent and wiſe; but as it is not 'poſſible to look far into futurity, and provide againſt 'every accident; if there be any thing wrong, I deſire 'that it may be altered.* Theſe were his own words,' added the duke, lowering his voice, aſhamed of pleading before ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, the force of words heard by himſelf alone, as ſufficient to invalidate or belie the written articles of a will.

'I am therefore convinced,' purſued the duke, 'that according to the laws of the kingdom, to paſt 'examples, and to the will of the late king, that the 'regency belongs to me; but I ſhall not be ſatisfied, 'if, to ſo many juſt claims, you do not join your ap-'probation, by which I ſhall be no leſs honoured than 'by the regency itſelf.'

This artful compliment ſmoothed the wrinkled brows of thoſe old counſellors, who, after having been ſo long deprived of the privilege of making remonſtrances, found the right of making laws now attributed to them.

'I therefore make it my requeſt to you,' continued the duke, 'that when you read the teſtament of the 'late king, you will not confound my ſeveral claims, 'but equally take under your conſideration the right 'which my birth gives me to the regency, and that by 'which the teſtament may enforce it, but begin with 'the former.' A propoſal abſolutely contradictory, which, while it expreſſed the higheſt reſpect for the teſtament, tended to annul it by a preliminary decree.

The regency either is, or is not the hereditary right of the duke of Orleans: if it be, he enters immediately upon the poſſeſſion of it, and then why deliberate? why did the maſter appear here as a ſuppliant? If it be not, with what face could the parliament be aſſembled, by virtue of the late king's will, only to make publick his intentions, which were confided to them,

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to hear another ſubject of deliberation propoſed to them; to be intreated to diſcuſs what was already judged, and which they could not determine, although it had not been determined before.

But,' reſumed the duke of Orleans, 'by whatever 'claim the regency is granted to me, I may venture 'to aſſure you, gentlemen, that I will merit it by my 'zeal for the publick good; and that I will labour, in 'concert with you, to render the ſtate happy and 'flouriſhing.'

This promiſe compleated in all the members of the aſſembly, that blind ſubmiſſion which corruption had begun in ſome. Already the parliament thought itſelf aſſociated in the empire, and aſſumed the ſentiments of a ſovereign, unconcerned for the death of him who had deprived them of all power, devoted to the prince who reſtored all to them again.

The whole aſſembly turned their eyes upon the duke du Maine; ſome feared, others hoped that he would riſe up and oppoſe this demand. He kept a profound ſilence, ſecretly condemning himſelf for the fault which he had committed, which was likely to produce ſo many others. He had neglected to execute that article of the codicil, by which the command of the houſhold troops was that day to devolve to Villeroi, who, after having promiſed to receive orders from him in all things, had permitted the duke of Guiche to take upon him the command.

The Teſtament was read with great rapidity, and ſo low, that it could not be diſtinctly heard. The duke du Maine's friends now flattered themſelves, that he would ſpeak, but he was ſtill ſilent; however he had many arguments to urge, and many juſt claims to defend. He might have repreſented to the aſſembly, that the teſtament, by declaring the duke of Orleans head of the council of regency, preſerved to him the right that was given him by birth; that by no law or ſtatute of the kingdom, could the regency belong to the firſt prince of the blood; that a king has doubtleſs the ſame right as a father, of appointing one, or ſeveral guardians to his children;

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of chooſing theſe guardians out of his own family, or among his friends; of preferring a near, or a diſtant relation; that the quality of the neareſt heir gave a right to the ſucceſſion, but not to the guardianſhip; that it was not fit that a ward ſhould be in the power of his preſumptive heir; that by no law this was injoined; but that it were to be wiſhed, that there was a law to forbid it; that the mothers of minor kings had always poſſeſſed the regency, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with from the firſt princes of the blood.

Such a ſpeech would at leaſt have done honour to the duke du Maine, and juſtified the choice made by his father; but, in this important day, his underſtanding was as uſeleſs to him as his ſword. The preſident Luber, the firſt preſident de Maiſons, many members of the aſſembly, many officers of the army, ſeveral peers, waited only for a courageous oppoſition from him to declare themſelves on his ſide. He might have made a diviſion in the aſſembly; the affair would have then been more cautiouſly deliberated upon, and the teſtament of a king would at leaſt have as much reſpect as that of a private man.

If he had ventured to remind them of the many powerful reaſons which Lewis the Fourteenth had to confide the care of the minor to any other protector than the duke of Orleans, he would have created an irreconcileable enmity in the duke towards him; by awakening in the hearts of all good Frenchmen, their natural affection for their kings, he would have expoſed him to the publick hatred. If he had told him boldly, that he himſelf ought to refuſe the guardianſhip of a minor, whoſe death, by whatever accident it might happen, muſt neceſſarily raiſe a thouſand reports injurious to his character, he would have confounded him.

The armed men, with which the palace was ſurrounded and filled, were in the intereſt of the duke of Orleans, but would not have maſſacred the duke du Maine. Theſe

Theſe men, devoted to the party which prevailed, waited anxiouſly for the event, but had no thought of determining it. The ſuffrages were free; the duke du Maine believed they were not ſo: even under this perſuaſion he might have known that the ſon of a king could have reſtored the freedom of voting according to conſcience; but he deſerted himſelf, and in the eyes of the whole aſſembly, only appeared the ſon of madame de Monteſpan.

The parliament gave the ſovereign power to him who demanded it; and, upon a bare reading, cancelled the moſt judicious and the moſt reſpectable of teſtaments: it was not the decree of a judge, it was the edict of a legiſlator. No rules, no formalities were obſerved; they decreed peremptorily; they did not even condeſcend to explain the motives of their decrees; they heard not the arguments of the conteſting parties; they condemned the ſacred regulations of the greateſt of kings; they gave a maſter to the whole kingdom, although they had only the right of making regulations for the inferior courts of their juriſdiction; they only ſaid, *That the court and all the chambers aſſembled, having taken the affair under deliberation, had declared, and did declare the duke of Orleans regent of France; and, under that title, to have the adminiſtration of all the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority.*

The duke of Orleans had offered to ſubmit to a council of regency; the parliament ſubjected him to it. The prince, tranſported with his firſt ſucceſs, was on the point of giving up every thing to the council and the parliament. The abbé Dubois, who foreſaw the conſequences of this imprudent joy, aſſured him in a billet, that if he did not inſtantly break up the parliament, he would give himſelf two aſſociates in the ſupreme power. The duke of Orleans deferred any farther deliberation till the afternoon. In the mean time his friends compoſed a ſpeech for him, concerning the inconveniences of divided authority: he appeared again in the aſſembly; he had before ſpoke like a ſuppliant, he now ſpoke like a maſter; he inſiſted that the whole power ſhould be veſted in him alone; he conſented to take the advice of the council

council upon affairs of ſtate; but reſerved to himſelf the diſtribution of all employments, as if the choice of perſons proper for theſe employments was not an affair of the higheſt importance: then it was that he pronounced theſe words, ſo noble in one ſenſe, ſo ridiculous on this occaſion, *I am overjoyed to find my hands tied up from evil, and free to do good.*

Whatever arrets he deſired, were granted by the parliament, which followed implicitly the ſudden revolutions of his will. By one arret, the ſuperintendance of the king's education was given to the duke du Maine; by another, the command of the king's houſhold troops, and even of the guards which did duty every day near his perſon, were taken from him. At length the duke du Maine broke ſilence; he demanded to be diſcharged from being anſwerable for the king's perſon. The duke of Orleans granted his requeſt; and the parliament, laviſh of its arrets, was upon the point of ratifying this grant by a new act of ſovereignity, when the duke du Maine was prevailed upon to deſiſt, the indecency of his requeſt being forceably urged to him.

The duke of Orleans, having all his wiſhes ratified, flattered the people; and was as unreaſonably adored by them, as he had been unjuſtly hated. They had been fatigued with the preceding reign; they termed it the iron age; they were in a condition that needed relief and comfort; they indulged the moſt agreeable hopes; they caught at the bare ſhadow of publick felicity.

The wiſer part were ſurpriſed at this unhoped-for revolution: by ſome it was attributed to the dexterity of the duke of Orleans, and the treachery of madame de Maintenon. They ſaid, and twenty hiſtorians * have repeated it after them, that madame de Maintenon, being after the king's death full of anxious fears for herſelf, and foreſeeing, by the difference of cha-

* See the life of Philip duke of Orleans.

racters and great inequality of abilities, that the duke du Maine muſt neceſſarily be oppreſſed by the duke of Orleans, reſolved to ſacrifice the former to her own ſecurity, and by revealing the ſecret diſpoſitions of the teſtament to the latter, procure a powerful friend to herſelf.

They added, that ſhe was determined to this meaſure, by the neceſſity of guarding her nephew the duke de Noailles, from the vengeance of the duke of Orleans, who had been perſonally offended by ſome injurious reflections, which that nobleman had indiſcreetly thrown out againſt him, the remembrance of which ſhe could only hope to efface, by a ſervice of ſuch ſignal importance. According to them therefore the duke de Noailles revealed the whole myſtery to the prince; and offered him his own and the ſervices of his whole family, which by its alliances was become one of the moſt powerful in the kingdom. The offers were accepted, the injury was forgot, the poſt of preſident of the finances promiſed, the duke de Guiche, colonel of the French guards, gained over to the intereſt of the duke of Orleans, and all neceſſary meaſures taken to ſecure the army in their intereſt.

But it was likewiſe neceſſary that the parliament ſhould be corrupted; and the inventors of this tale could not be at a loſs for a proper intrigue. The connections which cardinal Noailles had with many of the members of this body, diſſatisfied with father le Tellier for being the cauſe of their children's excluſion, made it eaſy for him to treat with the principal men amongſt them in favour of the duke of Orleans.

The conferences were held at the palace royal, whither the archbiſhop of Paris, the preſident de Maiſons, monſieur de Fleuri, advocate-general; monſieur d'Agueſſeau, attorney-general; meſſieurs de Fortia, the abbé Pucelles, and Gaumont, came through one of thoſe houſes which had a communication with the gardens of this palace. The duke of Orleans and the abbé Dubois, went in the night in different diſguiſes to the epiſcopal palace.

There

There it was determined that the duke of Orleans ſhould be regent; that the cardinal de Noailles ſhould be chief of the council of conſcience; the preſident de Maiſons, keeper of the ſeals; d'Agueſſeau, chancellor; and monſieur de Fleuri, attorney-general; that Pucelles, Fortia, and Gaumont, ſhould have honourable employments; that father le Tellier ſhould be driven from the court; that thoſe who had been baniſhed on account of the conſtitution Unigenitus ſhould be recalled; the parliament re eſtabliſhed in its prerogatives; and the duke de Noailles conſulted in all affairs.

A calumny groſs and ridiculous, refuted by its own abſurdity. The moſt virtuous perſons of the kingdom were choſen to act the baſeſt parts imaginable; and thoſe who were moſt faithfully attached to the late king, accuſed of treacherouſly violating his laſt commands. This fact turns entirely upon the perfidy of madame de Maintenon, a perfidy directly oppoſite to her character, to her affection for the duke du Maine, to every duty ſhe owed the king, always ſo faithfully fulfilled by her; her former intimate connections with the legitimate princes, the eſteem and reſpect ever expreſſed for her by all the faithful ſervants of the late king, the tears which ſhe continued to ſhed even till her death, at the remembrance of that iniquitous day when the teſtament of Lewis was cancelled, all concur to prove the improbability of her having engaged in ſuch unjuſtifiable meaſures.

The duke of Orleans knew the regulations in the teſtament no ſooner than the publick; this his timidity, his perplexed ſpeech to the parliament, ſufficiently ſhew: but although he was ignorant of the late king's intentions, he caballed becauſe he ſuſpected they were not favourable to him. Theſe cenſurers judged of what had paſſed, by what they ſaw. They ſaw the family of Noailles in great favour, and ſeveral magiſtrates in high credit: they did not doubt (ſuch is the natural malignity of man) that this favour, this credit, were the rewards of their treaſon; as if the neceſſity

the regent lay under of faithful friends and wiſe councils, was not ſufficient to account for the elevation of perſons whoſe intereſt was able to ſupport him, whoſe wiſdom was capable of adviſing him.

The views of the duke of Orleans muſt have neceſſarily been very vague and uncertain. If we examine his whole conduct, we ſhall find in it no regulated plan, no ſettled meaſure, no party ſecured; he had pretenſions, but he had formed no ſcheme: and thoſe pretenſions the duke du Maine might eaſily have overthrown, if he had not given his competitor time to make himſelf be beloved. With the poſts of grand maſter of the artillery, colonel general of the Swiſs and carabinieres, and governor of Languedoc, he was maſter of as many forces as the duke of Orleans.

The count de Toulouſe, the duke d'Antin, the marſhals Villars and Villeroi, the cardinals Polignac, Biſſy, Rohan, all the courtiers who had been faithfully devoted to Lewis the Fourteenth, would have ſupported him with their friends; whoever could have brought forth the young king to the view of the people, might have become the regent. The duke of Orleans deteſted in Paris, unknown in the provinces, forgot by the army, odious to good catholicks, indifferent to the Janſeniſts, would have been joined only by the licentious and deſperate youth of the city: he might have raiſed a ſedition, he could not have ſupported a war; and if he had kindled one, he would have been conſidered as a rebel.

With the French, the party which is ſtrengthened with the perſon of the king, is always the juſt and the victorious party. The duke of Orleans had indeed declared, that he would periſh rather than ſubmit to the teſtament. The duke du Maine might have deſpiſed his threats; his filial piety, his attachment to his king, his private intereſt, the good of the ſtate, all required that he ſhould take ſuch meaſures as would beſt ſecure the perſon of the minor, the welfare of the kingdom, and preſerve to himſelf his own indiſputable rights.

To

To ſecure his own glory and illuſtrious rank, was a part of his duty: he miſtook it; he abandoned that rank which he ought to have aſſerted with the peril of his life. By ſome his moderation was highly praiſed, by others it was condemned. Thoſe who judged of the duke of Orleans by the firſt edicts he iſſued, were rejoiced that the power had fallen into his hands; but when they ſaw the ſame man openly contemn thoſe obligations which his promiſes had laid him under, promiſes of which he had been ſo laviſh, they regretted the loſs of that adminiſtration ordained by the teſtament. They accuſed the duke du Maine of having betrayed his country; they murmured againſt the parliament; they loudly declared, that the moſt bloody civil war would be leſs fatal than this pacifick regency.

CHAPTER XL.

The duke of Orleans viſits madame de Maintenon.

IT was with the deepeſt ſorrow, that madame de Maintenon learned the outrage that had been offered to the memory of Lewis the Fourteenth. She foreſaw, that the duke du Maine would be ſoon degraded from his rank as prince of the blood; that the affairs of the church would be irreverently treated; that impiety and libertiniſm would be openly countenanced and protected by a prince who was himſelf a deiſt and a debauchee; that the finances would be ſhamefully ſquandered away; and the French be governed by caprice, till their diſobedience had informed him, they could only be governed by laws.

Full of theſe ſad preſages, ſhe trembled to ſee the life of the young king in the power of him who muſt neceſſarily be the greateſt gainer by his death: not that ſhe ſuſpected the duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy were hurried out of the world; but to an epicurean upon ſyſtem, and through inclination, what is a crime? when a throne is in view, what can reſtrain ambition?

However, when ſhe conſidered that frankneſs and generoſity, ſo conſpicuous in the character of the duke of Orleans, her fears were in ſome degree abated. If an ambition to reign ſtimulated him to the crime, the love of true glory reſtrained him from committing it. She perſuaded herſelf, that he durſt not have demanded that a life ſo precious as that of the young king, ſhould have been confided to his care, if he had not reſolved to be anſwerable for it to France; that the obligation which honour laid him under to preſerve the child, would be as powerful as the dictates of virtue; that he would make a point of deſtroying the former ſuſpicions that had been entertained of him; and that if he was capable of ſo black a crime, he would be reſtrained from perpetrating it by remorſe, by fear, and by thoſe reports which had been ſpread of guilt, which he had not incurred.

Theſe hopes were combated by fears, too well grounded to leave her mind at reſt. She had continually before her eyes, the dreadful proſpect of thoſe miſeries which were preparing for a ſtate, ruled by a man who knew how to fight, but who, among philoſophers, artiſts and proſtitutes, had not learned how to govern.

However, the firſt days of the regency were diſtinguiſhed by ſchemes for the relief of the people. The duke regulated his conduct by maxims which openly condemned the principles of the laſt reign. This declared contempt for the will of a prince, who had acquired more knowledge by experience, than all that the duke of Orleans's philoſophy had been able to teach him, overwhelmed madame de Maintenon with grief. In vain ſhe reproached herſelf, for taking ſo much intereſt in a world which ſhe had renounced for ever: ſhe could not, without indignation, know that the memory of her deceaſed king was treated with ſcorn, his virtues deſtroyed, his errors exaggerated, his enterprizes condemned, his ſtatues covered with ſatires, and the authors of thoſe affronts unpuniſhed, his obſequies interrupted by the inſolent *Te Deum* of the

the populace, mixed with the *de profundis* of the prieſts.

The duke of Orleans, who eſteemed her highly, thought he owed her a kind of account of his actions, and was willing to prepare her for the changes he was meditating. He paid her the ſame reſpect which he would have paid to a queen dowager: he was ſenſible that ſhe had diſſipated ſeveral ſtorms which had been raiſed againſt him; and although he might probably not know of all the obligations he had to her, yet he knew enough to perſuade him, that it was his duty to give her publick proofs of his acknowledgment.

Sept. 6.] He went to Saint-Cyr to viſit her: the lady portreſs not admitting him immediately, the ſuperior made him an apology for it. 'It is according to your 'rules,' ſaid the prince to her, 'and I am not come hither to interrupt them.' He entered madame de Maintenon's apartment alone, and continued with her half an hour. Some thought that he came to load her with reproaches, others to forbid her to meddle for the future with affairs; and many believed that the deſign of this viſit, was to prevail upon her to reveal to him certain ſecrets of ſtate: but all theſe conjectures were falſe. The prince, when he entered her chamber, thus addreſſed her:

'I am come, madam, to expreſs to you the part 'I take in your grief, and to aſſure you of all the re-'ſpect and conſideration you can wiſh for.' She was 'beginning to anſwer him, he interrupted her. 'I 'do my duty only, and you know what has been pre-'ſcribed to me.'

'It is with pleaſure,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'that I obſerve the reſpect you pay the memory of the 'late king, by favouring me with this viſit.' 'That 'reſpect,' anſwered the prince, 'would not permit me 'to neglect making you this viſit; but my eſteem for 'you would ſtill leſs permit it: and I am deſirous of 'giving you greater proofs of it, than the mea-'ſures I have taken to ſecure to you that little, which

'the king has bequeathed to you out of his privy purſe.'

'I was informed of this yeſterday,' ſaid madame de Maintenon. 'I return your royal highneſs a thouſand 'thanks; but this ſum in the preſent ſtate of the finan-'ces, is too large, and I am not willing to accept ſo 'much.' 'It is but a trifle,' replied the prince, 'but 'it is too true that the finances are in great diſor-'der.' 'What I receive from the king,' reſumed madame de Maintenon, 'will be wholly employed in 'relieving the neceſſities of ſome poor people, whom 'I am not willing to abandon, and in prayers to 'God that you may obtain the aſſiſtance you have 'need of.'

'I am already ſenſible,' ſaid the duke of Orleans, 'that the burden I bear is very heavy.' 'My lord,' reſumed madame de Maintenon, 'you feel but part 'of it yet.' 'I ſhall be at Vincennes,' added he, 'as much as I can; but publick affairs will often 'call me to Paris. I am reſolved to give my whole 'attention to them, and will uſe my utmoſt endea-'vours to re-eſtabliſh them. I ſhall think myſelf 'happy, if, in the courſe of a few years, I may be 'enabled to render to the young king, France freed 'from its debts, tranquil, flouriſhing, and in a better 'condition than I found her; this is the utmoſt bounds 'of my ambition.' 'This is a glorious deſign,' ſaid madame de Maintenon. 'No one,' reſumed the duke of Orleans, 'has a greater intereſt in the preſervation 'of the young prince than I have: it is I who am an-'ſwerable for his perſon; the whole authority is at 'preſent veſted in me; I ſhall not have thoſe to con-'tend with, who, by poſſeſſing his perſon, would have 'ſhared that authority with me; and I ſhall be over-'joyed to reſign it into his hands, that I may peace-'ably enjoy the honour I ſhall have acquired.'

'Theſe ſentiments,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'are worthy of your birth, and you yourſelf will feel 'how glorious they are, if it be true that you have 'not that inſatiable deſire of reigning with which you

'have

'have always been charged.' Ah!' anſwered the 'prince, 'if I ſhould looſe the young king, could I 'hope to reign in peace? ſhould we not be engaged in 'a war with the king of Spain, who has ſtill many 'friends, although he is not by the teſtament appoint-'ed to ſucceed.'

'No, my lord,' replied madame de Maintenon, 'I 'never can believe the injurious reports that have been 'propagated againſt your royal highneſs; I know the 'malice of mankind; you know it alſo; and I intreat 'you therefore never to liſten to what my enemies may 'impute to me, contrary to your intereſt. My influence 'is over; and all I have now to do is to bury myſelf 'in my retreat, and forget the whole world. The 'ſtate of things, my own inclinations, the reſpect I 'owe your perſon, and the little uſe I now can be of, 'all impoſe ſilence upon me; but the obligation you 'have laid me under by the grant you now ſecure to 'me, is of itſelf ſufficient to hinder me from enter-'ing into any cabals; and I engage my honour never 'to ſay or do any thing againſt your royal highneſs. 'Many imprudent expreſſions will be attributed to 'me, I ſhall be accuſed of holding correſpondence 'with the king of Spain, all this will be falſe, and 'I ſhall no longer give any attention to affairs of 'ſtate, but to pray for the happineſs of France.

'And I, madam,' returned the regent, proteſt to 'you, that in me you ſhall always find a ſincere friend, 'and Saint-Cyr a faithful protector. The place you 'formerly held muſt have neceſſarily obliged you to 'many connections, and your retirement will not guard 'you from ſollicitations. I ſhall be always ready to 'ſerve you; it is not fit that you ſhould addreſs your-'ſelf to any other than myſelf.' 'The greateſt fa-'vour I ſhall ever aſk,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, 'is 'that the foundation of Saint-Cyr may be com-'pleted.

After ſome compliments on one ſide, and acknow-ledgments on the other, the regent deſiring to ſee the ladies of the community, ſaid to them, 'Ladies, I

'have deſired to ſee you, that I might aſſure you of 'that protection which is ſo juſtly due to you. I ſhall 'uſe no arguments to perſuade you of this truth; you 'know what reſpect I owe to him who founded your 'community, and to her who governs it. I am well 'convinced of the merit of an eſtabliſhment ſo uſeful 'to the kingdom, and in particular to the nobleſſe; 'for whatever you may wiſh, ladies, for whatever ma-'dame de Maintenon may deſire, I ſhall be always 'ready to do you ſervice. I recommend myſelf to 'your prayers; the place I now fill renders them more 'neceſſary to me than ever.'

Nothing ſtruck the regent more than the ſmallneſs of madame de Maintenon's apartment, and the extreme ſimplicity of its furniture. She told him ſhe had deſtined that which the late king had cauſed to be built for her, for an infirmary for the community. Some of the courtiers who attended the duke of Orleans in this viſit, being perſuaded that diſcontent and reſentment, rather than a love of ſolitude, had induced madame de Maintenon to retire to Saint-Cyr, diverted themſelves at her expence. 'What injury has ſhe 'ever done you?' ſaid the prince to them. 'She has 'ſerved many perſons, ſhe never hurt one.' The converſation then turned upon the princeſs Des Urſins, 'As for her,' ſaid the duke of Orleans, 'ſhe 'is a buſy enterprizing woman, and, with abilities for 'nothing, has intruded herſelf into every thing.'

His behaviour to theſe two ladies was conformable to theſe ſentiments; he abandoned madame des Urſins to her deſtiny, and his friendly cares ſoftened that of madame de Maintenon. He reduced all the penſions, but preſerved entire the four thouſand francks a month which was ſettled on madame de Maintenon, and paid out of the privy purſe; *a penſion which her diſintereſtedneſs has rendered neceſſary to her*, ſaid the brevet, by the expreſs order of the regent: an eulogium which began with her, and which probably will tempt no other favourite to an imitation of that virtue. But,

'if

if ſhe had refuſed this penſion, ſhe might probably have merited a greater.

Her ſituation ſeemed to require that ſhe ſhould owe no obligations but to the king; did that delicate reſpect due to the memory of Lewis the Fourteenth, permit her to accept this benefit from the hands of him who publickly contemned his teſtament? Was it fit for the widow of a king to ſuffer her gratitude to be engaged to him who uſurped an unlawful authority; whom as a ſubject ſhe was bound to obey, but whoſe favours, as the wife of Lewis, ſhe ought to have ſecretly ſhunned?

To have ſeen Frances d'Aubigné poor, after reigning thirty years, refuſing to be enriched; faithful by this refuſal to the manes of her huſband, ſingly deſpiſing an uſurped power, although exteriorly obedient to that power; forcing admiration from the prince whoſe reſentment that refuſal would have excited; and ſhewing the world that a king could be loved and revered after his death: this, to exalted minds, would have been a noble ſpectacle.

Thus would human wiſdom have counſelled her, but chriſtian piety reaſons differently. Such a conduct would have gratified pride, and drawn the attention of the world; but madame de Maintenon conceived, that ſhe ought no otherwiſe to teſtify her affection for the king, than by her prayers, and her ſubmiſſion to the new regulations permitted by providence. It was not for her to brave the regent, nor to conteſt the right of giving with him who gave in the name of the king; probably alſo ſhe was carried away by her ardent charity: to a benevolent mind, what are ſuch lofty ſentiments in compariſon of good works? When the duke of Orleans left her, ſhe ſaid to mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'If among ſo many misfortunes, felt with 'ſuch extreme ſenſibility, any thing could afford me 'conſolation, it is in reflecting that I ſtill have it in 'my power to relieve ſome unhappy perſons. But 'for this conſideration, what would this penſion be 'to me?

She

She was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of the duke of Orleans, that ſhe inſtantly committed to paper the principal heads of her converſation with him. Mademoiſelle d'Aumale having requeſted her to give her that paper, madame de Maintenon ſaid, 'I will 'leave it to you.' Accordingly ſhe joined it to her teſtament, perhaps as a modeſt proof of her marriage.

Sept. 7.] The regent's viſit was followed by one from the dutcheſs dowager of Orleans, his mother; ſhe came in full dreſs, a reſpect paid to madame de Maintenon's ſecret elevation, as well as to her virtue. The dutcheſs told her, that the dutcheſs of Berry, and the dutcheſs of Orleans her daughter in-law, were coming. Madame de Maintenon inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger, to intreat thoſe princeſſes to leave her at liberty to pray and weep; ſhe made the ſame requeſt to all the royal family, and very freely excuſed herſelf from receiving thoſe inſtances of officious reſpect, probably ſincere, but after the regent's viſit a little ſuſpected, and better calculated to flatter pride, than to ſooth affliction.

All the great lords preſented themſelves at her door, to make their compliments of condolance: none were admitted; ſhe had given orders that the biſhops only ſhould be introduced to her. She afterwards repented of this exception; ſhe had hoped they would talk to her of God, their diſcourſe turned wholly upon the world.

Marſhal Villars deſired permiſſion to come and mingle his tears with hers. She replied, that Saint-Cyr was as inacceſſible to heroes as to princes. He declared he would then lay ſiege to it. She yielded. He remained faithful to the late king.

Sept. 8.] The queen of England could not be excluded; ſhe came in deep mourning, and with the ſame ceremonial as to a princeſs. When ſhe ſaw madame de Maintenon, ſhe embraced her tenderly. Tears flowed from the eyes of both. At every circumſtance which madame de Maintenon related to her, of the

chriſtian

chriſtian death of the king, 'Mine,' ſhe cried, 'could 'not have ſhewn more chriſtian reſignation. Juſt thus 'did my holy king die.'

The queen of Poland, who lived retired at Blois, made her a particular compliment. All thoſe who regretted Lewis the Fourteenth, to her expreſſed their ſorrow. The king of Spain, whoſe intereſt ſhe had ſo ardently ſupported with his grandfather, was the only one who on this occaſion ſhewed her no mark of reſpect or gratitude. 'I am ſurpriſed,' ſaid mademoiſelle d'Aumale to her, 'that the king of Spain has 'not wrote to you.' 'I ſhould have been more ſur-'priſed,' replied madame de Maintenon, 'if he 'had.'

CHAPTER XLI.

Madame de Maintenon's manner of life at Saint-Cyr,

MADAME de Maintenon's firſt care was to free herſelf from the incumbrance of her houſhold, moderate as that was. She aſſembled her domeſticks, thanked them for their faithful ſervices, diſtributed ſome preſents among them, and diſmiſſed them. She kept only two women, and a valet de chambre, who was lodged without the walls. She ſent her horſes to be ſold, ſaying, 'I cannot reſolve 'to feed ſix horſes, while there are ſo many men of 'birth dying of hunger.'

Her whole income was conſecrared to the relief of ſome noble families; ſhe ſcarce reſerved any part of it for her own uſe, and often denied herſelf neceſſaries: generous to others, avaritious only to herſelf. By the letters patents Saint-Cyr was expreſsly enjoined to maintain her and her ſervants, but ſhe paid the community a penſion of four thouſand francks, and was ſtill apprehenſive of being burthenſome to it. Her repaſts, always frugal, were now more ſo than ever, and ſhe reduced herſelf to a ſingle diſh, her ſupper uſed

to

to be a diſh of chocolate; after the firſt evening ſhe denied herſelf that. 'I will not by my example,' ſaid ſhe, 'make *pious gluttons* of my daughters.' She no longer made uſe of paſtes or perfumes: 'He is 'gone,' ſaid ſhe, 'for whom I uſed theſe things.'*

She denied herſelf whatever ſhe either thought convenient or agreeable to her, that ſhe might no longer have any taſte to gratify, and might have the more to give the poor. Whenever ſhe received her penſion ſhe divided it among thoſe whoſe neceſſities were known to her. If ſhe had been capable of forgetting the loſs ſhe had ſuffered, the retrenchment ſhe was obliged to make in her alms, would have recalled it to her remembrance. 'I do not weep for the king,' ſaid ſhe ſometimes, 'he is now happy; but it is terrible to 'know that there are many perſons in diſtreſs, and 'not to have the power of relieving them.'

'I have taken an account of her expences,' ſaid mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'during the years 1717 and '1718; in the former they amount to fifty ſeven thou-

'ſand

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* She gives a lively repreſentation of the ſtate of her mind, in the following letter to d'Aubigné, archbiſhop of Rouen:

'My mind is nearly in the ſame ſtate as when you 'left me. When I reflect on the wonderful mercies 'which God has ſhewn me, I dread leſt pride ſhould 'intrude itſelf upon my thoughts: I am apprehenſive 'of being ungrateful, by not offering up ſufficient 'thanks and praiſe to him who ſupports me with his 'almighty hand, and renders me almoſt inſenſible to my 'loſs, and to my fall. Peace, confidence, joy, and 'love, riſe in my ſoul when I contemplate the former, 'and I feel the moſt abſolute indifference when I think 'of the latter. Be ſure not to write to me without 'ſome words of exhortation. Our dear daughters uſe 'their utmoſt endeavours to make my retreat agree-'able: they will not find it a difficult matter.'

'ſand nine hundred and forty-two livres, and in the 'latter to ſixty-eight thouſand five hundred and nine-'ty-five livres; from which there are only ſome ſcarfs 'and ſome robes de chambre for herſelf, the remainder 'was appropriated to penſions or to alms. I have 'known her give very conſiderable ſums under bor-'rowed names. She often ſaid to me, *The pleaſure of 'giving is the only one I now enjoy.*

She ſoon entertained ſcruples that her grief was too intenſe; and, while perſons of the greateſt piety admired her reſignation to providence, ſhe reproached herſelf with not having an entire ſubmiſſion to it. It is the property of Chriſtian virtues to aſtoniſh thoſe who are witneſſes of them, and to create fears of unworthineſs in thoſe who exert them; and nothing more ſpeedily effaces the remembrance of the good we do, than the apprehenſion of not doing enough.

Diſengaged at length from the world, in which the king only had retained her, ſhe breathed in freedom; ſhe enjoyed the happineſs of having eſcaped from the general wreck, and held ſo little correſpondence with the world, that ſhe knew not even by publick report the ſad events of that ſtormy regency in which ſhe lived: ſhe reſigned herſelf in her retreat to that inward recollection which ſhe had always loved, and which the tumultuous hurry of a court had ſo often interrupted: ſhe was at length ſenſible of what infinite importance it is to give one's ſelf early to God, and free from the contagious vices of a place where ſhe had ſo long lived, from a conſcience examined with the utmoſt ſincerity, ſhe received conſolation and hope, and, inſtead of having ſins to expiate, found only virtues to bring to perfection. This happineſs was but of ſhort duration, and but late enjoyed; but her advanced age promiſed her a near, and her lively faith an eternal happineſs.

She was deſirous by ſome little employments to baniſh languor and ſatiety from her ſolitude; ſometimes ſhe inſtructed the novices, ſometimes ſhe ſhared with the miſtreſſes of the claſſes the painful cares of education;

cation ; ſhe often ſent for the young ladies to her chamber and inſtructed them in the elements of religion, and taught them to read, to write, to work, with that gentleneſs and ſolicitude which accompany every thing we do through taſte and inclination.

She aſſiſted regularly at the recreations, and appeared as gay as if ſhe could really find any amuſement in them. She uſed to tell the ladies of Saint Lewis, that then was the time to acquire a thorough knowledge of their pupils, to diſcover the difference of characters, and to inſtil uſeful maxims into their tender minds, under the allurements of pleaſure. She made one in all their diverſions, ſhe invented ſome herſelf, her preſence gave no reſtraint ; ſhe inſpired joy and freedom ; ſhe was reſpected, without being feared.

Madame de Vertrieux then governed Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon ſubmitted to her authority, either becauſe ſhe was weary of rule, or to give an example of obedience ; ſhe acted with the ſame degree of dependance as if ſhe had been only one of the ladies of Saint-Lewis : ſhe never departed on any occaſion from the rules of the community, without aſking permiſſion of the ſuperior. Madame de Vertrieux died, and madame de Glapion ſucceeded her ; ſhe had madame de Maintenon's vote, and both deſerved and poſſeſſed her tendereſt friendſhip : the charms of her wit, the force of her underſtanding, had appeared even in her earlieſt youth ; devotion, ſo often accuſed of ſuggeſting narrow and confined notions, had enlarged her mind, and the name of madame de Glapion * will for a long time recal at Saint-Cyr an idea of perfection. Madame de Maintenon had educated this lady, and now obeyed her.

She ſubmitted her exerciſes of devotion to the regulation of the miſtreſs of the novices. One day in each month ſhe conſecrated to ſolitude ; there, without

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* See her character in the letters to the ladies of Saint-Cyr.

out any interruption, without any wanderings or melancholy, ſhe prepared herſelf for death, and anticipated that happy futurity which religion has promiſed to the faithful: one week in every year ſhe paſſed in the ſame inward recollection; doubtleſs this calm of mind was often troubled by reflections on the prodigies of her life, eaſily forgot in the tumult of Verſailles, recalled with force in the ſilence of Saint-Cyr.

The infirmities of old age could not make her diſpenſe with this pious practice. She deſired madame de Perou, then miſtreſs of the novices, to give her rules for her days of devotion. The next day ſhe found the required plan in her oratory. She anſwered by this billet: 'Your compliance, my dear mother, will 'be perfect, if to-morrow I find a liſt of my faults, 'as I have found a liſt of my exerciſes.'

Madame de Perou, after having examined her with the moſt critical eye, pronouced that Saint-Cyr had an excellent foundreſs. However, one great fault tarniſhed in ſome degree the luſtre of ſo many virtues: madame de Maintenon had neither weak credulity, ſuſpicious avarice, troubleſome melancholy, nor any of the faults of old age, but ſhe carried to exceſs the fear of having theſe faults, and this fear ſeemed to give her them all. During her elevation ſhe had always attributed to the place ſhe filled, that homage which was ſometimes paid to her perſon; ſhe uſed often to deſire madame de Caylus to excuſe her to her beſt and moſt intimate friends when they came to viſit her, ſaying, 'It is neceſſary by abſence to make them amends for 'the tediouſneſs of my converſation.'

This idea was ſtrengthened by age; it owed its riſe to a virtue, and produced a fault. Being now perſuaded that the tenderneſs and affection expreſſed for her were mere ſacrifices to decency, looking upon herſelf as one of thoſe antiques which are more eſteemed on account of their being ſcarce, than their intrinſick value, ſhe concluded that friendſhip, the only happineſs ſhe was capable of enjoying, no longer exiſted for her. Mademoiſelle d'Aumale, notwithſtanding her faithful

faithful attachment, her tender ſolicitude, and conſtant attendance on her, was involved in this ſuſpicion; madame de Glapion was not exempt from it: both with the kindeſt attention endeavoured to amuſe her, and both were often diſcouraged in their attempts, not by any complaint, but by acknowledgments too apparent, and by a thouſand objections to whatever they propoſed for that purpoſe.

Theſe ladies, who loved her with the tendereſt affection, felt the moſt ſenſible concern to find they were ſo little known. Madame de Maintenon durſt not venture to ſend for them in her hours of leiſure, for fear of being tireſome to them; and they durſt not offer their company for fear their ſolicitude ſhould be attributed to mere complaiſance.

Madame de Maintenon having one day deſired to ſee one of theſe ladies, who happened that moment to be employed in ſome other part of the houſe, ſhe went inſtantly to the church, and at the foot of the altar ſought for that conſolation which ſhe reproached herſelf with having ſought from thoſe ſhe loved: ſhe fancied ſhe was only an object of compaſſion to thoſe who, being witneſſes of her virtues, were ready to invoke her as a ſaint, if the living could be invoked. They queſtioned themſelves concerning the cauſe of her coldneſs and reſerve, and trembled while they expreſſed their uneaſineſs for fear ſhe ſhould think it exaggerated, or be offended that they had diſcovered the motions of her unquiet mind. This extreme caution in an old perſon, who was only reſpectable, might have been meritorious; in a woman who was adored at Saint-Cyr, it was a weakneſs.

The ingratitude of the courtiers, although long foreſeen, yet threw her into reflections unfavourable to the human heart. Intereſt or pleaſure, were in her opinion, the ſole principles of affection; ſhe believed herſelf uſeleſs and troubleſome, although Saint-Cyr, guarded by her care againſt all the vices of the world, ought not to have reminded her of the reſemblance between a convent and a court. One of her friends exhorting

exhorting her to preſerve herſelf, becauſe ſhe was ſo neceſſary, ſhe replied, 'Yes, if I am really ſo; if not, 'I cannot die too ſoon.'

Jealouſy now joined its efforts to torment a mind made miſerable by its exquiſite ſenſibility; ſhe loved madame de Glapion with exceſſive fondneſs, and was apprehenſive that ſhe was not ſufficiently beloved by her; ſhe ſuſpected that this lady gave the preference in her heart to mademoiſelle d' Aumale. This predilection ſhe acknowledged to herſelf was very natural, yet was ſhe no leſs afflicted at it. Hence that dryneſs, that reſerve, thoſe inequalities in her temper, the inquietude of a perſon who was deſirous of inſpiring the ſame degree of friendſhip as ſhe was capable of feeling, and who ſeverely queſtioned herſelf by what right ſhe claimed it. I know not if it be a weakneſs to have a heart ſo tender, but certainly it is a great misfortune.

Theſe faults of temper madame de Maintenon had brought with her from the world into ſolitude: in every place, in every circumſtance, we are ſtill ourſelves. In the world a variety of objects, a continual ſucceſſion of pleaſures or occupations, concealed them; at Saint-Cyr they inceſſantly eſcaped her watchful vigilance over herſelf. In her youth they had deprived her of the pleaſures of ſociety; in an age more advanced they had rendered her inſenſible to the honours of a court, in her old age they diſturbed the repoſe of her ſolitude. A celebrated author * is for having the hiſtories of the fortunate perſons of his age all written. If that were done, what is called good fortune would never be ſolicited.

It was only the moſt intimate confidents of madame de Maintenon, who diſcovered theſe inequalities of temper, always ſeverely repreſſed; the habit of ſubduing them concealed them in part from obſervation. God and herſelf only knew thoſe pains of which ſhe never

* Eſſais de Morale, & de Litterature, tom. 3.

never complained. Languiſhing in fevers, or tormented with head-achs, ſhe never had recourſe to any relief, unleſs the violence of her pain betrayed her fortitude into complaints: a foe to all indulgence, ſhe conſidered labour, fatigues, the inclemencies of the weather, as trifles. Complaints are the ſoothings of ſufferings; ſhe interdicted them herſelf, not becauſe they betray a weakneſs of mind, but becauſe ſhe thought them rebellious againſt that power who diſtributes thoſe ſufferings, and rewards them. She kept even till her death a woman attendant by whom ſhe was extremely ill ſerv'd. When ſhe was preſſed to diſmiſs her, 'No,' ſhe replied, 'I am reſolved to keep her; no one could have been 'more uſeful to me, ſince, during five-and-twenty 'years ſhe has given conſtant exerciſe to my pa-'tience.'

Among her perfections, thoſe which not being born with her were virtues, became by conſtant practice the natural qualities of her mind, the great end of morality; philoſophy aſpires to it, but chriſtianity attains it.

If any thing could have leſſened the fervour of her piety, her diſtruſt of the directors of her conſcience would have done it; ſhe had long diſcovered that the counſels they gave her were almoſt all intereſted therefore, after the death of the biſhop of Chartres, ſhe had no particular director, and ſhe contented herſelf with declaring her hns to the abbé Briderey her confeſſor, without aſking advice of any perſon whatever; but was always guided by the maxims of monſieur des Marais, whoſe writings by frequent peruſal made him ſeem preſent to her imagination: this only conſolation ſhe ſtill poſſeſſed.

She diſcovered that the abbé Briderey was a Janſeniſt: her averſion to every kind of hereſy would not permit her to confide in a ſecret enemy of the church; the natural ſweetneſs of her temper made it extremely difficult for her to part with a confeſſor ſhe had had ſeventeen years. She was ſure only of his inclinations towards Janſeniſm; but ſhe was apprehenſive, that by changing

changing her confeſſor, he would be accuſed of ſomething worſe. She durſt not examine too nearly into the foundation of her ſuſpicions, leſt thoſe ſuſpicions ſhould be turned to a certainty. She durſt not reject them entirely, leſt ſhe ſhould deceive herſelf.

To ſpeak plainly to the abbé Briderey upon this ſubject, was to expoſe him to the guilt of falſehood; for what Janſeniſt is there who will not deny that he is one? To conceal from him the inquietudes ſhe ſuffered on his account, was to remain voluntarily in a doubt, which it highly concerned her to remove; by diſmiſſing him, ſhe would do a prejudice to the whole order to which he belonged: by keeping him ſhe drew upon Saint-Cyr the prayers of the Janſeniſts, which were ſtill worſe than their curſes, and upon herſelf the reproach of favouring a party which triumphed in the regent's ſupport.

It is eaſy to conceive what agitations theſe thoughts muſt raiſe in a mind ſo truly catholick: however, ſhe reſolved to be ſilent, to receive the communion oftner, that ſhe might go leſs to confeſſion, and to comfort herſelf with contemplating in God.

Thoſe hours which ſhe appropriated to prayer, ran with the greateſt rapidity. 'Would you ſhorten time,' ſhe uſed to ſay, 'ſpend it with God;' and ſometimes, 'Oh, how inſenſibly glide on thoſe days,' ſhe cry'd, 'that we devote to God.' Every thing rendered her Maker preſent to her ſoul; he poſſeſſed and filled it entirely. 'I ſung to her,' ſays mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'a ſacred ode of Racine's; when I came to theſe 'verſes:

O Sagaſſe! ta parole
Fit éclore l'univers,

Oh wiſdom! thy word
Called forth the univerſe,

ſhe ſeemed, in a tranſport of admiration, to ſhed ſome tears, and deſired me to repeat them. Whenever ſhe heard the trio of Eſther,

Ah!

Ah! qui peut avec Dieu partager notre amour?

Ah! who with God can ſhare our love?

ſhe appeared in an holy extacy. We lovers of the world are not able to conceive the neceſſity of the pleaſure of this continual preſence of God. When our paſſions are ſilent, we repreſent him to ourſelves under the idea of an offended judge: true chriſtians behold him under that of a father ſatisfied with their love. 'I do not,' ſaid madame de Maintenon, ap-'prove of theſe words, *It is terrible to fall into the hands of the living God:* in my opinion, nothing can be more delightful.'

Full of impatient deſire, to behold at length that being, whom ſhe loved with ſuch ardor, ſhe languiſhed for death, not as the period to her cares, but as the beginning of her happineſs. Mademoiſelle d'Aumale, happening once to ſay to her, that ſhe was afraid ſhe ſhould go to hell, 'Ah! my God!' cried madame de Maintenon, 'how is it poſſible to have ſuch a 'thought! I aſſure you, this fear never entered into 'my mind: no, it is not poſſible for me to think that 'I ſhall be damned.' Will the moſt rigid proteſtants when they ſee ſuch piety proceeding from the boſom of error, maintain that God will condemn us for opinions?

It was but by degrees, that ſhe acquired that ardent fondneſs for prayer. At firſt ſhe found the exerciſes very tedious, and performed them with laſſitude. 'My want of application,' ſaid ſhe to the ladies of Saint-Lewis, 'was the cauſe that I was formerly diſ-'guſted with prayer: beſides, I thought it was a 'higher merit in the ſight of God, to comfort the 'afflicted, to viſit the ſick, than to throw myſelf be-'fore his altar with my head full of buſineſs, languid 'in my devotion, and often my attention engaged by 'the levity of my own thoughts. I ſaid to myſelf, a 'chriſtian ought to live an active life, I remain here 'meditating upon the perfections of God, while 'my ante-chamber is crouded with people, whoſe

'requeſts

'requeſts I ought to hear, and whoſe neceſſi-
'ties I may relieve. But, after long experience,
'I am become ſenſible, that theſe wanderings of
'the mind may be prevented, by reflecting that we
'are converſing with the moſt reſpectable of all be-
'ings, and that prayer is the true food of a chriſtian:
'without prayer we depend upon our own prudence,
'and God bleſſes not our deſigns: we grow languid
'in the performance of our duties; the mind is con-
'tracted, in whatever we do, our own intereſt is the
'end. We flatter ourſelves that we are charitable,
'we are ſurpriſed to find that we are only profuſe:
'we give alms, but we make not to God that offer of
'of them, by which alone they are meritorious. Taſte,
'humour, pleaſure, have been the principles of our
'charity; and the gratifications of theſe are the bar-
'ren recompence of it: in a word, I date the inward
'peace I enjoy, from that moment, when obedient to
'the advices of my directors, I deſtined a certain por-
'tion my of time to prayer.'

Thus did ſhe endeavour to perſuade her daughters of Saint-Cyr, to keep up that holy commerce with God, ſo little known in convents, though they are the retreats of piety. In her converſations with madame de Glapion, mademoiſelle d'Aumale, and madame de Perou, ſhe expatiated both upon her good qualities and her faults, with the ſame frankneſs as ſhe would have done on thoſe of any other perſon: ſhe was dead to every ſentiment of pride; whatever could be uſeful to her daughters of Saint-Cyr, ſhe made theirs, equally free from oſtentation, as from affected humility.

After the recreation, at which ſhe regularly aſſiſted, even when ſhe was indiſpoſed, ſhe inſtructed the novices, whom ſhe formed by her diſcourſe and by her example. When ſhe expatiated upon the duties of a cloiſtral life, one would have thought ſhe had fulfilled them all: when ſhe talked to them of God, ſhe ſeemed enflamed with the ſacred fire of pure love. The ladies of Saint-Lewis wiſhed that God would beſtow on them a portion of that ſpirit with which ſhe was animated,

animated, as he had infuſed into the ſixty-two elders, that of Moſes their head. ‘ Ah!’ cried ſhe, ‘ what a ‘ head! and this it is which makes me pity the mem- ‘ bers: but are not all inſtruments equal in the hands ‘ of God? When I reflect,’ added ſhe, ‘ that every ‘ one of the religious orders, although inſtituted by ‘ ſaints, has had occaſion to be reformed, I ſighing aſk ‘ myſelf, what will become of Saint-Cyr, whoſe be- ‘ ginning was not ſo favourable.’

However, ſhe left writings to that community, which will prevent any relaxation of piety and regularity, as long as a taſte for the ſimple, the pure, and uſeful, ſhall prevail among them. Such is that piece called *the ſpirit of the inſtitution*, which is entirely of her own compoſing: but that it might never bear her name, ſhe prevailed upon the biſhop of Chartres to correct it, and upon the king to ſign it.

The ladies of Saint-Lewis preſſed her to ſign it alſo. She replied, ‘ It is fit that thoſe who come after you, ‘ ſhould believe this is the work of a biſhop, and not ‘ of a woman. Your friendſhip for me, makes you ‘ fond of every thing that comes from me; I ſhall be ‘ very indifferent to the future ladies of Saint-Lewis.’ In the deliberations of the council, ſhe gave her opi- nion with a humility, which left to the ſuffrages the moſt entire freedom, but with a prudence and fore- thought, that rendered that freedom uſeleſs. It was neceſſary that the biſhop of Chartres ſhould interpoſe his authority over her, to preſerve a great number of papers from the fire, which are now very precious to Saint-Cyr. They contained inſtructions taken down in writing from her mouth, by thoſe who heard them. Madame de Maintenon reviſed them, and eraſed every thing, which upon deeper reflection, ſhe did not ap- prove. The ſtyle was that of Tobit, or of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach; it breathed thoſe virtues with which her heart was filled.

When ſhe read the collection made by madame de Bouju, ſhe every moment cried out, *This is what I never ſaid or thought.* The piety of madame de Bouju, was harſh and ſevere: and all the gentle reaſonings of

madame

madame de Maintenon were imbittered by paſſing through her pen.

Upon reviewing all the regulations of Saint-Cyr, ſhe perceived ſome errors in them, and her firſt thought was to amend them; but in prudence ſhe forebore to take this ſtep. 'We will make no alterations,' ſaid ſhe to mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'the example will be dangerous, and at length they will be altering every day.' She inſtilled into her pupils a great veneration for the profeſſed nuns of the community: at the holy table, ſhe followed the ladies of Saint-Lewis, and preceded the young ladies. She was earneſtly intreated to go firſt: 'Am I not too highly honoured,' replied ſhe, 'by walking immediately after the clergy, and at the head of the nobleſſe?'

She was ſhocked at that pride, which the great cannot diveſt themſelves of, even in their acts of devotion. 'At church,' ſaid ſhe, 'the difference of conditions diſappears, and I am overjoyed to obſerve it. *Leger*, my woman, receives the communion by my ſide, and often receives it with more fervour than myſelf.' It was not the ſervant who was emulous of her miſtreſs's piety; it was the miſtreſs who aſpired to be equal to the ſervant. The wiſe declare that mankind are all equal, and the truly devout believe it.

Her infirmities did not leſſen her attention to the education of the young ladies of Saint-Lewis: not being able to go up to the claſſes, ſhe deſired to have a certain number of theſe children in her own apartment. The miſtreſſes made it the reward of merit; mademoiſelle de Mornai, and mademoiſelle de Montchevreuil, were preferred to many others, on account of their talents and their names, which were always dear to madame de Maintenon, and will long be ſo to Saint-Cyr. The gentleneſs with which ſhe inſtructed them, her extreme application and patience, aſtoniſhed the ladies of Saint-Lewis. 'Nothing is leſs reaſonable,' ſaid ſhe, 'than to expect that children ſhould be reaſonable.' She accommodated her inſtructions to

their capacity: ſhe watched the progreſs of their ripening underſtanding; and aided the efforts of nature, with all her own accumulated wiſdom.

Mademoiſelle de la Tour was brought up by her. This young girl was the daughter of a gentleman of Auvergne, whoſe family, compoſed of twenty children, all born of the ſame mother, lived in decent poverty. Madame de Maintenon conceived an affection for her from the firſt moment ſhe ſaw her; her beauty, her engaging ſimplicity, the ſweetneſs of her temper, but particularly the extreme delicacy of her conſtitution, induced madame de Maintenon to take her entirely under her own care. The child repaid this tenderneſs with the fondeſt affection. Madame de Maintenon found herſelf ſo ſtrongly attached to her, that it became neceſſary, for the peace of her conſcience, to be re-aſſured concerning the force of this inclination; for ſhe was not willing to form any ties which might engage her to the world. 'At every age,' ſaid ſhe, 'we have need of a doll.'

However, in this amuſement ſhe found exerciſe for her charity, and for thoſe talents for which ſhe was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. Mademoiſelle de la Tour acquired in her childhood all the qualities of an excellent nun. Madame de Maintenon recommended her in her laſt will to the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who could not ſettle her more advantageouſly, than by taking her into their number. The favour the child enjoyed, made the good fortune of the whole family; her brothers got places, her ſiſters were portioned.

Madame de Maintenon was ſtealing from the world, and every three months her benevolence informed her penſioners that ſhe was ſtill in it. She paid her alms with as much punctuality, as if they had been debts; no neceſſitous perſon was denied relief by her. She ſometimes would talk to the young ladies of Saint-Lewis, of their relations and friends; and when with the ſimplicity of their age, they gave her an account of any evident diſtreſs, ſhe ſent into the moſt diſtant part of a province, a ſecret and unexpected relief.

She

She confined herſelf generally to bare neceſſaries, that ſhe might have it in her power to multiply her benefactions. She never ſupplied the craving of vanity; ſuch gifts ſhe conſidered as robbing her poor: ſhe was accuſed of not being liberal, but ſhe was more, ſhe was charitable.

However, her natural generoſity made her often exceed the bounds ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf; and with humbled pride, ſhe did not calculate very rigorouſly; her preſents carried abundance into families, which had been accuſtomed to it. She ſupported in a genteel manner ſeveral women of quality, whoſe names I ſhall not mention, becauſe certain expreſſions which have fallen from their children, have taught me, that in ſuch families they are more aſhamed of poverty than ingratitude. A large volume might be filled with the account of her known charities; but doubtleſs a much larger would ſcarce contain the liſt of thoſe of which it might he ſaid, her left hand was ignorant of what her right beſtowed.

In the ſolitude to which ſhe had condemned herſelf, ſhe had ſome gloomy days: ſo it was ſuppoſed at Paris; but at Saint-Cyr it was not perceived. Several perſons affirmed, that ſhe frequently went out of the convent to make viſits, but theſe viſits were only to the poor of the village; accuſtomed to company, to publick affairs, to a kind of life, the moſt varied imaginable, ſhe could not avoid being melancholy in a houſe where ſhe ſaw continually the ſame perſons, from whence ſhe had baniſhed news and viſits, and where each day was the perfect copy of the former; the remembrance of the paſt, rendered the preſent diſagreeable: but habituated long to conquer herſelf, ſhe never ſuffered this uneaſineſs to appear; nor till after her death was it ever known that ſhe had any to conceal. Her confeſſor owned that ſhe had ſome conflicts to ſuſtain: but theſe were but tranſient ſtorms; grace in that faithful heart, ſoon repaired the ravages of nature.

She might eaſily have mixed again in thoſe agreeable ſocieties ſhe had quitted. The ladies de Dangeau, de Caylus, de Lévy, endeavoured to bring her back to them; but either becauſe ſhe feared to indulge her own inclinations, or that all which had formerly delighted her, was now become wholly indifferent or taſteleſs, ſhe very ſeldom ſaw any of her old friends. How few favourites fallen from power can boaſt of friends! Madame de Maintenon preſerved all hers: Villars, d'Harcourt, Villeroi, Uxelles, Rohan, Ventadour, the moſt diſtinguiſhed names in the court of the regent, honoured her as if ſhe had been upon a throne.

Her converſation had loſt none of its charms; her body was infirm, old age had reſpected only her hearing and her eyes, but her mind was ſtill firm, and her wit unimpaired. She wrote, ſhe talked, ſhe thought, with all the vigour, with all the juſtneſs of her earlier years. One day, when ſhe gave a general reprimand to the young ladies of Saint-Lewis, a new ſervant who heard her, interrupted her with this exclamation, *I proteſt this is ſtill a notable woman.* When ſhe was in the court, the centre of wit, ſhe had deſpiſed and baniſhed it from Saint-Cyr. In the ſolitude of a convent, ſhe became ſenſible what need the indolence of a courtier has of ſuch a reſource, and how greatly the productions of wit contribute to the tranquillity of the mind. Affecting ſcenes of tragedies, animating muſick, agreeable tales, little repreſentations, humorous ſcenes, intereſting books, innocent trifles; in a word, all that ſhe had prohibited were recalled.

The ladies read to her the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, in which the characters of many perſons, with whom ſhe was intimately acquainted, are ſo well drawn; Vaſſor's hiſtory, where ſhe is obliquely attacked; father Daniel, who always mentions her grandfather with honour. Mademoiſelle d'Aumale does not tell us in her manuſcript, what was madame de Maintenon's opinion of theſe books. When mademoiſelle d'Aumale, in a pamphlet wrote by Villefor, a Janſeniſt,

read

read to her this character of herſelf. *Madame de Maintenon had always good intentions, but ſhe was extremely timid; ſhe was candid and ſincere, but a little elevated, and always determined by the king's perſonal intereſt*; ſhe ſmiled, doubtleſs convinced that if this was her true character, ſhe was all that a wife ought to be; and that conjugal love, comprehending all her duties, juſtified all her faults.

The part ſhe had in affairs of ſtate, her zeal for the church, her love for her country, would not permit her to be indifferent to the events of the regency. She wiſhed to be ignorant of every thing, yet deſired to be told all; *curioſity*, ſaid ſhe, *is the laſt paſſion which dies in us; I have ſeen things rather too near.* Let us now take a ſlight view of thoſe affairs which were likely to intereſt her; her character is known, a bare recital of facts will explain her ſentiments.

CHAPTER XLII.

Publick Affairs.

THE regent's firſt care was to gain the Janſeniſts: he was ſure of the Jeſuits concurrence in all his ſchemes, whenever he pleaſed to make uſe of them; his ſecond was to proſecute the farmers of the revenue. A court of commiſſion was erected to try them, which might have been uſeful, if afterwards one had been erected to try the commiſſioners. The miſtreſſes and favourites of the regent ſold their protection to the accuſed, the judges ſold their ſentences to the guilty.

Monſieur Fourquieux, the preſident of this tribunal, was ſurnamed the keeper of the ſeals, becauſe when the ſpoils of Bourvalais were divided among the friends of the prince, Fourquieux had his ſilver ſeals for his ſhare: ſuch as had acquired moſt wealth, were judged with the leaſt ſeverity. The people exclaimed againſt the iniquitous proceedings

of this court of juſtice, apparently the laſt that would be erected. What imports it whether France is to be plundered by the courtier or the financier, when it is her deſtiny to be abandoned to pillage? The Jeſuits and the farmers of the revenue mutually comforted each other, for they hated none but honeſt men.

The regent had promiſed the duke of Bourbon, before the king's death, that when the power was in his hands, he would deprive the legitimated princes of that rank, and thoſe prerogatives, which Lewis the Fourteenth had ventured to give them: but although the elevation of thoſe princes had irritated him while he was no more than a ſubject, he deſpiſed it when the ſovereign authority was in his hands. The duke of Bourbon reminded him of his promiſes, the duke of Orleans put off the execution of them to another time, and made contrary promiſes to the duke du Maine. The princes of the blood, apprehenſive that the regent would ſport with them, as he did with his word, demanded in a petition, that the king ſhould hold a bed of juſtice; and the legitimated princes preſented a petition, in which they requeſted, that their rights might be determined by a majority of votes.

The regent approved of this expedient; he was ſenſible, that a guardian has a right to make regulations, but not to cancel laws: however, he was told, that the demand made by the duke du Maine and the count de Toulouſe attacked his authority, which was not the leſs abſolute, becauſe it was limited to a certain time. It is no difficult matter to perſuade power to whatever may augment it. The duke of Orleans thought it highly imported his own honour to judge this proceſs; the royal authority, ſaid he, is never in a ſtate of minority; but ought not the exerciſe of it to be entruſted in the hands of the regent only, eſpecially in a monarchy where it is evident, no body of the people is the depoſitory of the prince's rights, or the protector of thoſe of the nation?

Having thus cleared up his doubts he appointed commiſ-

commiſſioners, and the king's children were degraded, as they had been elevated, contrary to the laws. All their memorials were refuted. They appealed to the general ſtates of the kingdom; the parliament made no decree in conſequence of their proteſtation, and the regent ſent ſeveral gentlemen to the baſtile, who had engaged thirty-nine others to make the ſame appeal.

July 2, 1717.] In other reſpects the edict by which the legitimated princes were degraded, was not marked by that ſtrain of violence and partiality which was expected from the regent's council. The monarch is there made to acknowledge, that he cannot diſpoſe of the crown; and that when the Bourbon line ſhould be extinct, it belonged to the nation to chuſe itſelf a maſter; but it left the duke du Maine, and the count de Toulouſe in poſſeſſion of the precedence derived from their dutchy.

The late king's edict in favour of the legitimated princes was certainly a great injuſtice to the nation; yet is it aſtoniſhing that this injuſtice ſubſiſted no longer: the princes of the blood, by marrying his natural daughters, ſeemed engaged in honour to ſupport it; and their brothers-in-law, by being aſſociated in their rank, effaced in ſome degree the ſtain of ſuch an alliance. The edict of July, 1714, ſtill left a ſufficient diſtance between the princes of the blood, and the legitimated princes. Our laws eſtabliſh an infinite one, and our manners would have preſerved it.

Theſe reflections occurred to the duke of Orleans, and he reſtrained the impetuoſity of the duke of Bourbon, who having himſelf conceived a perſonal enmity to the duke du Maine, although that prince had ſupported his intereſts with his father, was reſolved, if poſſible, to have him declared the ſon of the marquis de Monteſpan, by a decree of the parliament. This attempt was the beſt ſermon that could be preached againſt deſpotiſm and adultery.

The regent being apprehenſive of the king's death, reſolved to ſecure the crown to himſelf, by excluding the branch of Anjou from the ſucceſſion. The abbé

Dubois, ſigned at London and the Hague, the treaty of the quadruple alliance, the purport of which was, to maintain George upon the throne of England, and to place Philip, duke of Orleans, upon that of France. The pretender was ſacrificed to this ſcheme, and two Engliſhmen who were ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated Evreux, were diſcovered, ſeized, convicted, and ſet at liberty.

Deſmarets was diſmiſſed from his employment of comptroller of the finances, after having preſented to the council, by way of apology, a memorial, which demonſtrated, that he only was capable of diſcharging it well. The duke de Noailles was preſident of the council of finances, and the *Viſa* * freed France in one day from a debt of three hundred and thirty three millions, puniſhing the ſubjects by methodical and almoſt equitable reductions of money bills, for the misfortune of having had a warlike prince.

The preamble to the edict was very gentle, the purpoſe of it was cruel; the people were plundered with all poſſible kindneſs; the neceſſities of the ſtate juſtified every thing.

The regent would ſee all with his own eyes; he ſowed diviſions among his miniſters, that he might not be deceived; and finding he was, he changed them as he did his miſtreſſes. The intereſt of the ſtate were ſounding words, and always in his mouth, but his thoughts were wholly employed on his own particular intereſt. He was not capable of much application, but he was active; he loved every thing, but loved nothing with ardour; he ſuffered his favourites to abuſe his kindneſs, and his penetration he himſelf abuſed: he now protected, now oppreſſed religion, doubted whether he had one, and did not care to have his doubts removed: he appropriated the whole day to

* This was an operation of the finances, by which the purchaſers of ſtocks were only to receive the price, or very near it, that they had paid for them.

to buſineſs, and part of the night to pleaſures, in which his mind ſeemed to acquire new vigour for the labours of the enſuing day.

Monſieur Voiſin died ſuddenly; the duke de Noailles ſollicited his employment at Saint Cyr for himſelf, and that of chancellor, for his friend Dagueſſeau and obtained both theſe requeſts. The duke of Orleans being in danger of loſing his ſight, it was reported that the new chancellor, the duke de Noailles, and the cardinal his uncle, had deliberated whether it would not be proper to deprive him of the regency. This ſtory is not probable, and it is ſtill leſs ſo, that the prince ſhould have been able to diſcover the deſigns of men ſo prudent and ſo ſecret. However that may be, the chancellor, the idol of the Janſeniſt party, was baniſhed to Frêne, and the duke de Noailles retired from court.

The ſeals, and the adminiſtration of the finances were given to monſieur d'Argenſon, who was himſelf certainly worth two men, but not worth thoſe two; deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and through indigence reduced to accept the poſt of lieutenant-general of the preſidial court of Angoulême, he was raiſed to that of lieutenant of the police, by the intereſt of monſieur Pelletier, who alone was acquainted with his merit; under this title he became the miniſter of Paris, was hated by the populace on account of his ſeverity, eſteemed by the citizens on account of his vigilance; fitted for any employment, but never honoured by Lewis the Fourteenth with the higheſt, becauſe he excelled in that he poſſeſſed; poor, diſintereſted, yet ſuſpected of embezzling the publick money; cleared from a proſecution by the force of truth, and by the luſtre of his name; propoſed as a reformer of manners, and accuſed of corrupting them; feared by the Jeſuits, although devoted in appearance to their intereſts; ever declaring that the honours beſtowed by a regency are but *ambulatory honours*, and owing his death to the loſs of thoſe honours he ſo greatly deſpiſed; the only man who was capable of

humbling the parliament, while he ſaved the nation*.

Auguſt 26. 1718.] Law ſhared with the keeper of the ſeals the confidence of the regent: the parliament iſſued a ſummons for his perſonal appearance before them. The king went thither to hold a bed of juſtice, where monſieur d'Argenſon was inveſted with the prerogatives of chancellor, and all which had been enacted by that body, with relation to the ſpecie, was annulled; the dukes and peers reſtored to the right of preceding the preſidents of ſovereign courts; the education of the minor entruſted to the duke of Bourbon, who was ſo lately a minor himſelf. The duke du Maine, obnoxious to the regent for his oppoſition to the quadruple alliance, was reduced to the rank only of a peer, the count de Toulouſe without reaſon maintained in the poſſeſſion of honours which his brother had without reaſon been deprived of, the parliament conſtrained to regiſter theſe unjuſtifiable innovations, and conſequently the ſtate upon the brink of ruin.

The favourable hopes that had been conceived of the regency were all deſtroyed; Lewis the Fourteenth was now ſincerely regretted. It was acknowledged, that the council ſettled by the teſtament would in all reſpects have been more uſeful to the ſtate than thoſe numerous committees, where they were always deliberating, without reſolving upon any thing. The neglect of his laſt will was deeply lamented, which, by the wiſe regulations it contained, ſeemed an abridgment of all that policy that by long experience he had acquired. The two parties which had ſo long divided the church, now agreed in declaiming againſt the new government; the duke of Orleans had almoſt as many enemies as there were Frenchmen; Britanny, Poitou, Normandy, were in commotion, and his court was filled with his enemies.

Now it was that the former calumnies which had been propagated againſt him were revived, and many new

* By propoſing that edict, by which the coin was reſtored to its former value.

new ones added to them; the life of the young king, eagerly ſtiled our well-beloved, was apprehended to be in danger; poiſoned biſkets were ſaid to be found in his pockets; marſhal Villeroi had hindered him from taking ſome ſnuff, which would have killed him; madame de Ventadour had prevented him from eating of a dangerous collation that had been ſerved up to him; and a thouſand other frantick reports were circulated, which proved, and augmented the publick hatred againſt the duke of Orleans.

The regent however had been heard to ſay, 'There 'are two things, which, rather than ſuffer, I will be 'burned alive: one is, that any attempt ſhould be 'made upon the life of this child; the other, that the 'Spaniard ſhould reign in France.' Thoſe who knew him intimately did not doubt of his ſincerity in this declaration; but the people ſaw only his libertiniſm, and in that the will to dare every crime. Fontenelle, who was often a witneſs of the publick indignation againſt him, once ſaid to him, 'Ah! my lord, how 'will you be able to extricate yourſelf out of theſe dif-'ficulties?' 'Very well,' replied the prince, with great compoſure.

Then appeared thoſe celebrated *Philippicks*, verſes without poetry, odes without enthuſiaſm, more deſerving of contempt than puniſhment. The regent pardoned the inſults of ſatyriſts but his miniſters revenged him; while the prince anſwered an epigram only with a better, they threw into priſon, and ſuffered to languiſh there forgotten, all the wits who had ſatirized or had been accuſed of ſatirizing him. A young poet who had wrote againſt him, and who has ſince wrote againſt all the world, complained to him at Pont de Séve, that he had been brutally chaſtiſed. 'What do 'you demand?' ſaid the regent to him. 'Juſtice,' replied the young man. 'Well, you have had juſtice,' ſaid the prince.

He never ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his miſtreſſes, however violent his paſſion for them might be: the counteſs de P...., who was entirely in the intereſt

intereſt of his enemies, ſuppoſing ſhe had choſe a favourable opportunity, ventured to ſound him on an affair of great importance. The lover threw himſelf out of bed, and, taking the lady's hand, led her to a looking-glaſs; 'Do you ſee that beauteous head?' ſaid he to her; 'It is made for the careſſes of love, 'not for ſecrets of ſtate.'

Notwithſtanding he always ſported with religion, yet at length he began to comprehend that it was the ſtrongeſt ſupport of government, and that the corruption or reformation of manners, depended upon the choice of eccleſiaſticks for the dignities of the church. An abbê of great quality once ſaid to him, 'I ſhall be diſhonoured if you do not make me a biſhop.' 'I had 'rather,' ſaid the prince, 'that you ſhould be diſho-'noured than I.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

The ſecret marriage of the dutcheſs of Berry.

LIbertiniſm ſtill reigned in the court; however, the exceſs of it began to abate. Mademoiſelle de Chartres, in the bloom of youth, in the poſſeſſion of the greateſt beauty, and moſt tender affection of her father, touched by the powerful hand of grace, had taken at Chelles the habit of a Benedictine.

The dutcheſs of Berry retired frequently to the convent of the Carmelites, to devote herſelf to exerciſes of piety; however, the houſhold of that princeſs was maintained with great magnificence; the palace of Luxembourg had been given her, Meute ſerved for her conntry retreat, and Meudon was lent to her to vary the ſcene of her pleaſures.

At fifteen years of age the dutcheſs of Berry was a perfect beauty; but, notwithſtanding her immoderate uſe of ſtrong liquors, ſhe grew exceſſively fat, her complexion and features were altered, and of all her charms there now only remained the fineſt hands in the world, of which inhuman calumny reported, her father himſelf was an idolater.

The

The count de Riom had long poſſeſſed the affection of this princeſs; to free herſelf from that remorſe of conſcience which tormented her, ſhe married him privately. The following anecdotes madame de Mouchi, her lady of honour, related to one of her friends:

The dutcheſs of Berry, ſated with pleaſures, cauſed a cell to be fitted up for her in the monaſtery of the Carmelite nuns, to which the auſterities they practiſed tempted her to repair, whenever ſhe was weary of ſin. After a long retreat ſhe received the communion with great fervour, and immediately afterwards gave madame de Mouchi a letter for her lover. The lady of honour ſtarted back with horror and ſurprize at this ſacrilege: the princeſs obſerved her emotion, called her again, and with tears and groans acknowledged to her, that this lover was her huſband.

Madame de Mouchi was ſo firmly perſuaded that the count was married to the dutcheſs of Berry, that when he was appointed governor of Meudon, ſhe ſolicited for her huſband the poſt of great maſter of the wardrobe to the count de Riom, with a ſalary of four thouſand livres.

The dutcheſs of Berry did not ruin herſelf for her huſband. The duke de Lauzun, a kinſman of the count's, ſeeing him departing for the army, with houſings very ſparingly embroidered with gold, ſaid to him, 'When 'I lay at the palace of Luxembourg, couſin, my 'houſings were embroidered on both ſides.'

The dutcheſs had a daughter by the count de Riom, who was committed to the care of madame de Mouchi, who gueſſed to whom it belonged; ſcarce was ſhe weaned, when ſome perſons, wholly unknown to her, came and demanded the child. Madame de Mouchi refuſed to deliver her to them; but they inſiſting upon her compliance, ſhe went immediately to the princeſs, who was at play, and, being a little diſcompoſed, made no anſwer to what ſhe ſaid; but, being importuned by madame de Mouchi, ſhe at laſt ſaid twice, *Let them have her*, but would not give an order under her hand.

Some

Some time afterwards the dutcheſs of Berry was attacked with an apoplectick fit. After ſhe had received extreme unction the duke of Orleans was ſent for; madame de Mouchi offered to leave the room; the prince deſired her only to retire to a greater diſtance; the dutcheſs of Berry then talked to her father during ſome minutes, but in ſo low a voice that madame de Mouchi could not hear what ſhe ſaid: but when the dutcheſs had ceaſed ſpeaking, ſhe diſtinctly heard the duke of Orleans ſay, 'What do you tell me, 'daughter?' He appeared to be in great emotion, and walked backward and forward in the room with a ſilence and precipitation that ſhewed his aſtoniſhment and inquietude.

After the dutcheſs was dead, he demanded her caſket from madame de Mouchi, who delivered it to him; a minute afterwards he demanded the child that had been ſecretly confided to her care: madame de Mouchi told him that ſhe had, by the princeſs's orders, delivered the child to ſome perſons unknown to her, who came to demand it. The regent threatened to puniſh her ſeverely if ſhe did not produce the child, the abbé de Champigny was ſent to her, who told her that her head ſhould anſwer for the child. She gave him the ſame anſwer which ſhe had given the regent before; monſieur de la Vrilliere came to interrogate her, and threatened her with the Baſtile; ſhe perſiſted in anſwering, that the moſt cruel puniſhments could not force her to declare what ſhe did not know.

At the very moment when the miniſter went out of the palace of Luxembourg mademoiſelle de Beauveau, a famous devotee, came to aſk madame de Mouchi who was for the future to pay the penſion of a young girl that by order of the dutcheſs of Berry had been placed in a convent in Paris. Madame de Mouchi inſtantly informed the regent in a letter, of what ſhe had juſt learned: the regent baniſhed her and her huſband, took the young girl from the convent, and ſent her to Amiens, where ſhe was brought up in the houſe of the ladies of Mauroncourt of the order of Fontivrault with

with the counteſs de ..... from whom I had theſe anecdotes. The young lady was treated with great reſpect, ſerved and attended as a princeſs, yet paſſed only for the daughter of a country gentleman: ſhe was called mademoiſelle Benoit. From thence ſhe was ſent under the ſame name a penſioner to Valenciennes, where ſhe took the veil. This lady is ſtill alive: ſhe exactly reſembles her mother, the ſame large lovely eyes, vermillion lips, and ſnowy complexion.

This lady recalls to my remembrance the nun at Moret, whom Voltaire and the people believe to be the daughter of Lewis the Fourteenth *. That nun was the daughter of one of the king's coachmen. Madame de Maintenon had often ſaid ſo to two ladies, from whom I heard it. 'The king,' ſays the hiſtorian, 'gave twenty thouſand crowns with her to the convent.' It was madame de Maintenon who, to the ſum collected from the charitable aſſembly for that purpoſe, added a preſent from herſelf, to place her in that convent. He adds, that madame de Maintenon went expreſsly to Moret to perſuade this haughty girl that ſhe was deceived in her notions of her birth. Madame de Maintenon conſtantly viſited that convent three or four times a year, ſupported it by her liberality, and guided it by her councils. He aſſures us, that at Moret they ſtill remember the anſwer made by this girl to madame de Maintenon. 'The trouble, madam, which a lady of your rank has given yourſelf in coming hither to tell me that I am not the king's daughter, is a ſufficient proof to me that I am,' &c. A ſupplement to his pamphlet upon *Printed Lies*.

CHAP.

* See *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*, vol. ii. part 3. The author gives Lewis the Fourteenth another daughter by a young woman who attended madame de Monteſpan, and ſays, ſhe was married to a gentleman at Verſailles named la Queue.

CHAPTER XLIV.

A conſpiracy formed againſt the regent.

CArdinal Alberoni, whom nature had made a great man, and whom fortune had raiſed to a rank in which his talents ſhined out with all their luſtre, determined to take revenge on the regent, for the order he had given Spain to diſarm: the dutcheſs du Maine, enraged at the degradation of her family, formed deſigns to raiſe it again, by entering into the intereſt of the king of Spain. Father de Tournemine recommended to her the baron de Valef for her agent to the court of Spain; and the princeſs commiſſioned him to treat with Alberoni.

The diſcontent of ſeveral of the great lords, animated the dutcheſs du Maine to proſecute her deſigns, by flattering her with hopes of ſucceſs. The count de Laval, the marquis de Pompadour, cardinal Polignac, offered her their ſervices, and thoſe of their friends. Polignac, who was better fitted for intrigues of ſtate, than for the bold enterprizes of a conſpirator, propoſed to enter into a negotiation with the prince de Cellemare the Spaniſh ambaſſador. The dutcheſs du Maine had ſeveral conferences with this miniſter, which they both imagined were abſolutely ſecret, but which were known to the duke of Orleans. Their plan was to prevent the treaty of the quadruple alliance from being concluded; to put the king once more under the guardianſhip of the duke du Maine; to demand a convocation of the general ſtates of the kingdom; to poſſeſs themſelves in the night of the Tuileries; to ſurpriſe the regent in one of his parties of pleaſure, and ſend him to Madrid; to diſpatch couriers into all the provinces with neceſſary directions; and to diſperſe every where, letters from the king of Spain to all the orders of the ſtate. Theſe letters were ready; there were ſome for the king, ſome for the parliament, and others for the nation in general. Cardinal de Polignac,

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and Malizieu, chancellor of Dombes, had compoſed them. The marquis of Pompadour had drawn up a petition, in the name of the nobleſſe, to invite the Spaniard into France; and cardinal Alberoni had made an unſucceſsful attempt to engage the ſectaries in this ſcheme.

The duke du Maine was ignorant of theſe intrigues; his wife had more ſucceſsfully concealed them from him than from the duke of Orleans. The papers of which copies were to be ſent to Madrid multiplied every day, but not one of them was yet ſent: they were at length entruſted to the care of the abbé Portocarero. The regent diſcovered all by means of La Fillon, a famous prieſteſs of a temple of Venus. The ambaſſador's ſecretary had, in a billet to one of her votaries, acquainted her that he could not meet her that night, on account of ſome buſineſs which the departure of Portocarero would engage him in. La Fillon carried this billet to the keeper of the ſeals, whoſe purveyor and ſpy ſhe was. Some pretend that the firſt notice which the regent received of this plot, was ſent to him from London. However that may be, orders were iſſued immediately for arreſting the abbé. They overtook him at Poitiers: they ſeized his diſpatches, but left his perſon at liberty.

The regent had now the whole plan of the conſpiracy before him. The hôtel of Spain was inveſted, the ambaſſador arreſted, and his papers ſeized, in which ſeveral intrigues were diſcovered; ſome of them obſcure, others clearly explained, all in oppoſition to the regent, none of them diſadvantageous to the king. The cardinal de Rohan and de Biſſy were ſuſpected. The duke de Richlieu was convicted. The marquis de Pompadour and Saint-Genies were impriſoned in the Baſtile. The count Daydie and the marquis de Magny, introducer of the ambaſſadors fled into Spain. Cardinal de Polignac was baniſhed to one of his abbeys. Malezieu and his ſon, the duke and dutcheſs du Maine, their ſervants and attornies, were all arreſted. The dutcheſs du Maine was ſent to Dijon, under the guard

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guard of monſieur de la Billardrie, and the duke to the citadel of Dourlans, under that of Favancour, who treated him with great cruelty. Their ſons were baniſhed to the city of Eu, their daughters confined at Chaillot.

Marſhal Villeroi wrote an account of what had happened to madame de Glapion, ſuperior of Saint-Cyr, and intreated her to communicate the ſad news to madame de Maintenon, with all poſſible caution. Madame de Glapion was in the apartment of madame de Maintenon when this letter was brought to her. Madame de Maintenon ſeized it, eagerly broke the ſeal, read the afflicting news without ſhewing the leaſt emotion, and went inſtantly to church. As ſoon as ſhe was gone, madame de Glapion took the letter, fell into a ſwoon when ſhe ſaw its ſad contents, and recovering, followed madame de Maintenon all in tears, but ſtopped at the entrance of her gallery, reſpecting her grief. Madame de Maintenon left the church with the firſt ſymptoms of a fever, which never quitted her. The duke du Maine had put the firſt hand to her elevation, he gave the finiſhing ſtroke to her misfortunes.

The regent, on whom nature had beſtowed ſo many ſhining qualities, and whom the art of reigning had taught ſo many uſeful ones, took a generous revenge on his enemies, by the lenity with which he treated them. The miniſters ſought to lay their iron hands on the unfortunate and the guilty, without any diſtinction. The duke of Orleans ſoftened the ſeverities of a priſon, and permitted the priſoners the melancholy amuſements of reading, taking the air, and the viſits of their friends. Theſe amuſements even cruelty itſelf ought not to prohibit in thoſe ſtate priſons, whither perſons are ſent upon ſuſpicion, often the moſt ſlight and inconſiderable, and ſometimes the moſt unjuſt.

The princeſs of Conti being informed that her ſon-in-law was innocent, and that it was not poſſible to prove her daughter guilty, demanded that they ſhould be brought to their trials, according to an antient law,

by

by which our kings engage themſelves to grant their people, what indeed they cannot with-hold from them without tyranny; and this is, not to keep any ſubject in priſon beyond a certain time, without having their proceſs made out. But the manner in which her petition was received, made her ſenſible that, if the laws are ſilent for private perſons, they are not more efficacious for princes.

CHAPTER XLV.

The Czar Peter at Saint-Cyr.

MAdame de Maintenon, too weak to ſupport ſuch complicated diſtreſſes, never afterwards enjoyed one moment of health or happineſs. Madame de Caylus her niece, dreaded leſt ſhe ſhould ſink under her afflictions, haſtened to Saint-Cyr, and ſtaid eight days with her. She perceived that the blow was ſtruck. 'I deſire nothing but death,' ſaid madame de Maintenon to her, 'it is my only good:' and a moment afterwards, 'Alas! if we knew what God knows, our 'will would be the ſame with his.'

'I love' ſaid ſhe, 'ſometimes thoſe praiſes which 'the faithful give our Saviour Chriſt; when filled with 'a holy admiration they cry out, *All his decrees are 'good.* In what has happened lately, we do not ſee 'the good that is to reſult from it, but the eye of 'faith may ſee it. The duke du Maine will know 'what earthly grandeur is, and from that knowledge 'will learn to deſpiſe it; and the dutcheſs will per-'haps lament the errors of her youth. What though 'the duke of Orleans be on the throne, the ſon of 'Lewis the Fourteenth in fetters, the innocent con-'founded with the guilty; all is in the order of pro-'vidence, all proceeds from God, all is good, and 'this good is always the beſt.'

To theſe chriſtian reflections ſucceeded the tender anxiety of a woman, and a woman whoſe ſenſibility was carried to exceſs. She wiſhed to be at Dourlans, to comfort the duke du Maine, to weep with him: when

when ſhe thought of the malice of his enemies, ſhe was depreſſed with ſorrow; when ſhe reflected on that treaſure of piety he had acquired through her cares, ſhe reproached herſelf with her own weakneſs, in ſhedding tears for him who ſhed none for himſelf.

Then it was, that wholly diſengaged from the world, ſhe burned all thoſe papers which might have proved her rank. 'It ſhall never,' ſaid ſhe, 'be known 'what I have been to the king.' She will, perhaps, be blamed for this ſally of reſentment, or this exceſs of humility; but to a woman who was inceſſantly raiſing herſelf to God, what is the world's opinion? It is eaſy to juſtify her for this action; but how can her directors be juſtified?

This world, which ſhe ſo ſincerely deſpiſed, ſtill reſpected her. The Muſcovite emperor, who traverſed kingdoms in ſearch of great men, and who was himſelf a very extraordinary one, was deſirous of ſeeing the woman whom Lewis the Fourteenth had loved. Madame de Maintenon ſent to deſire he would permit her, on account of her infirmities, to receive his viſit in bed.

The community, in the habit of ceremony, received the Ruſſian emperor at the gate of the cloiſter. He proceeded directly to madame de Maintenon's apartment, followed by ſome French noblemen and his own ſmall train. He addreſſed himſelf to her; the interpreter ſpoke leſs than the countenance of the prince expreſſed. He himſelf drew open the curtain of the bed, and deſired that it might be alſo opened at the feet. He gazed on her with great attention, ſhe bluſhed, and the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who ſaw her at that moment, ſaid that ſhe muſt ſtill have appeared handſome to him. The Czar uttered ſome words of aſtoniſhment, accompanied with an action ſtill more expreſſive. After he left madame de Maintenon's apartment, he viſited all the claſſes, appeared ſurprized to find ſo little beauty among ſo many young girls aſſembled together, amuſed himſelf with obſerving their little ſports, and ordered the plan of the houſe to be drawn.

Some

Some days afterwards at an aſſembly, madame de Caylus was pointed out to him. Being told that ſhe was niece to madame de Maintenon, he preſſed through the croud, accoſted her, took her hand, looked earneſtly at her, and honoured her with every diſtinction of Muſcovite politeneſs.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The death of madame de Maintenon.

Mar. 13. 1719. THE laſt hour of madame de Maintenon faſt approached; her fever increaſed every day, accompanied with a cold, and a cough ſo violent, that ſhe ſometimes loſt reſpiration. She perceived her courſe was finiſhed; and ſaid ſo to madame de Caylus, and to the duke and dutcheſs de Noailles, to whom ſhe had ſent notice of her danger.

An alteration was made in her chamber to ſecure her againſt the cold. 'You take a great deal of 'trouble,' ſaid ſhe, 'for the few moments I have yet 'to live.' To the duke de Noailles ſhe ſaid, 'Nothing but my death, my dear duke, can repay the 'obligations I owe you for the pains you have taken 'to retard it: but,' added ſhe ſighing, 'the poor will 'periſh of cold!' She cauſed a ſmall ſum to be diſtributed among the poor of the village of Saint-Cyr, to buy wood; and melting into tenderneſs for the little girls of the red claſs, ſhe deſired the ſuperior to let her have five or ſix of them in her chamber, to keep them warm.

They propoſed to vary her broths, becauſe ſhe ſeemed diſguſted with them: 'Did I ever complain?' ſhe replied.

She performed, as far as her illneſs permitted her, thoſe exerciſes of piety, with which ſhe had always filled up her days. She received the communion on Eaſter-day with a degree of fervour which might have leſſened her regret for not performing it at church with her daughters. 'This will be the laſt,' ſaid ſhe to her

her confeſſor. Long, very long ſhe had communicated, as if each time would be the laſt.

Marſhal Villeroi came to ſee her, and paſſed as uſual two or three hours with her: ſhe ſtill continued to converſe with him, with the ſame ſprightly wit and eaſy freedom.

Apr. 4.] She was believed to be much better; her pulſe was regular, the phyſician gave hopes of her recovery, Saint-Cyr was tranſported with joy: ſhe only was not miſtaken. 'I am better,' ſaid ſhe, 'but I 'am going.'

The duke and dutcheſs de Noailles came again to ſee her, and quitted her no more. She ſaid to madame de Glapion, 'Daughter, nothing now remains 'to be done, but to implore of God that he will be 'pleaſed, in compaſſion to my weak impatience, to 'leſſen my agonies in the hour of death.' She ſeemed as much concerned for the trouble ſhe gave the ladies of Saint-Lewis, as if ſhe had been one of thoſe objects of charity, whom, through compaſſion they received into their houſe: faithful to the end in the obſervation of its rules, ſhe ſent back madame de Caylus every night to Verſailles.

Apr. 6.] 'Although I am very ill,' ſaid ſhe to mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'good works muſt not be 'neglected: let us ſend our penſions; it is not juſt 'that thoſe poor people ſhould wait.' This was the firſt time in her life, that ſhe did not ſettle her accounts herſelf. She afterwards ſaid, 'I am very happy, 'I have paid my penſions before-hand; I ſhall at leaſt 'ſtill beſtow alms after my death.'

Apr. 7.] She opened her caſket, and reviewed her will: and added theſe words to it; *To monſieur d'Aubigné archbiſhop of Rouen, I bequeath my miniature picture of the king; and I deſire that it may be for ever preſerved to ſuch of my name, who will regard it with the veneration and gratitude they ſo juſtly owe him.* She ſaid ſmiling to mademoiſelle d'Aumale, 'This is ſtill 'wrote with a ſteady hand.' She rallied a little about the mediocrity of this will. During the king's life,

ſhe

ſhe had made one which contained only theſe words, *I deſire that mademoiſelle d'Aumale will carry the incloſed liſt of my alms to the king, and intreat him, in my name, to ſettle a penſion on mademoiſelle de Breuilhac.*

Apr. 9.] Her fever and her cough abated, but her weakneſs increaſed. To madame de Glapion ſhe ſaid, 'I abuſe your goodneſs, madam: how will your affairs 'be managed?' Madame de Bloſſet brought her a letter: 'I am not yet dead,' ſaid ſhe without opening it, 'but the world is dead to me.'

Apr. 14.] Her fever redoubled, and was accompanied with ſo many ſymptoms of malignity, that all hope was loſt. At midnight maſs was celebrated in her chamber. She received the viaticum; and perceiving the prieſt, the phyſician, madame de Glapion, and mademoiſelle d'Aumale, ſtanding about her bed, 'Am 'I dying?' ſaid ſhe to them. Her laſt moments were paſſed in that gentle peace which is at once the witneſs and the recompence of a life of innocence.

Apr. 15.] She fell into a kind of lethargy, from which ſhe could only be awakened, by ſpeaking to her of God. They mentioned extreme unction to her; ſhe rouſed herſelf that inſtant, and ſaid ſhe earneſtly deſired it. She beheld unmoved all the preparations for that ſad ſacrament; and ſaid to the ladies of Saint-Lewis, who were drowned in tears, 'Did I never tell 'you that I ſhould come to this?' During the ceremony ſhe made all the reſponſes to the funeral prayers. Her confeſſor intreated her to give her bleſſing to the aſſembled community. 'I am unworthy,' ſaid ſhe; he preſſed her, and ſhe obeyed.

The duke de Noailles, kiſſing her hand, aſked her how ſhe did: ſhe replied, 'Not too well; adieu, my 'dear duke, a few moments hence I ſhall go to learn 'many things.' Immediately ſhe fell into her former kind of lethargy; the agonies of death followed ſoon afterwards: ſhe had the air of a perſon who was ſleeping compoſedly. Her countenance, ſaid mademoiſelle d'Aumale, appeared more beautiful and more reſpectable than ever: ſhe expired at five o'clock in the evening.

No

No words can expreſs the grief, the conſternation, and diſmay of the whole community of Saint-Cyr. Tears and groans firſt broke the melancholy ſilence: each one regretted that portion of happineſs which was raviſhed from her: ſhe was lamented as the general mother of them all. The houſe reſounded with piercing cries: even the ſervants mixed their lamentations with thoſe of the ladies and the children. No order was obſerved; the exerciſes were interrupted. Sometimes a profound ſilence ſhewed the exceſs of their affliction: ſometimes deep groans gave that affliction utterance: among ſo great a number of perſons of different ages and characters, grief wore one uniform face. If in this deſolation any words eſcaped them, they were ſuch as expreſſed their regret, at not having ſufficiently known the value of what they had loſt: they were artleſs praiſes, tranſports of admiration mixed with exclamations of grief. Now with interrupting ſobs they repeated her laſt words; now they preſſed eagerly about her bed to gaze upon her again. Death had reſpected her face; her features were not changed; ſhe inſpired veneration and love; they prayed for the repoſe of her ſoul; they were ready to invoke her as a ſaint. Happy are thoſe, they cried, whom, in theſe times of cruelty and oppreſſion, God calls to himſelf; for although it would have given her great ſatisfaction, to behold the early virtues of a king formed by her friends; yet it was a conſolation that ſhe eſcaped that dreadful future, which this ſtormy regency foretold.

Madame de Maintenon lived not to ſee war declared againſt the grandſon of Lewis the Fourteenth, to ſee the libertine Dubois honoured with the purple, and baniſhing from the council by his preſence all the great lords of the kingdom; to ſee the duke du Maine obliged to owe his releaſe to the treachery of his wife, who ſacrificed all his friends; to ſee the moſt auguſt ſenate in the world awed by ſoldiers, and baniſhed for refuſing to concur in meaſures that tended to overthrow the ſtate; to ſee Dagueſſeau, after having returned from

from Frêne with honour, remain in Paris with ſhame to ſee mademoiſelle de Valois receive four millions for her portion, while the nation groaned under the moſt dreadful poverty; to ſee the dukes demanding to be judged by the council; a peer of the kingdom degraded by the parliament, and he not the moſt guilty among the peers.

John Law was yet known only by two or three edicts, but ſoon, each day produced a new one. To poſſeſs gold or ſilver was a crime of ſtate; the innocent were ſubjected to confiſcations, the guilty roſe to wealth upon their ruins: an eager thirſt after gain deluded us; with our own hands we tore our entrails; a foreigner, without name, without credit, ruined the French nation at a ſingle blow. Lewis the Fourteenth was ſtruck with the deepeſt repentance, for having given ſome wounds to the ſtate; the duke of Orleans deprived it of every principle of life, and laughed at his exploits.

Madame de Maintenon therefore died very ſeaſonably; however, the tender aſſiduity of the duke du Maine was wanting at her expiring moments, and her eyes in their laſt looks, ſeemed to require another object.

The duke de Noailles, after reading her will, gave orders for the laſt melancholy ceremonies to be performed, for the intenſe grief of the ladies of Saint-Lewis prevented their attention to them. Although madame de Maintenon had deſired to be interred in the church-yard belonging to the community, yet the duke cauſed a vault to be made in the choir of the church, in which the body, embalmed and wrapt in lead, was to be depoſited.

Apr. 17.] The church was hung with black. The biſhop of Chartres, attended by the general of Saint-Lazarus, with his whole order, officiated in pontifical habits; the ladies of Saint-Lewis held up the funeral pall; the young ladies carried lighted flambeaus; the chaunting was interrupted with ſighs and tears; but when all that remained of madame de Maintenon diſ-

appeared from their ſight, their tears flowed with more violence, as if they had loſt her a ſecond time; a funeral eulogy more glorious to her momory than that which was ſuppreſſed by the duke de Noailles. The orator had a ſubject on which he might have diſplayed all the ornaments of eloquence, but it was judged better to be ſilent than to ſpeak by halves. In this the advice of that nobleman was followed, in whom Saint-Cyr had found a protector, ſuch as madame de Maintenon had defired.

But what they would not venture to pronounce at her funeral, was engraved upon her tomb in an epitaph, written in French * by the abbé Vertot, and reviſed by the duke de Noailles, the only one perhaps which hiſtory does not contradict, and which is compriſed in theſe few words:

The more we examine Frances d'Aubigné, in the ſeveral periods and different ſituations of her life, the leſs we ſhall doubt that ſhe was a ſaint, and almoſt an heroine: *benam facile crederes, magnam libenter.*

The reader has now ſeen all that hitherto I have collected concerning the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which I have done with a hope that my labour may not be unuſeful to the honour of my country, if ever

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* See the collection of her letters. That I may omit nothing which relates to madame de Maintenon, I ſhall here obſerve, that the author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth, blames her friends for affecting to omit in her epitaph the name of her firſt huſband. The title of dame d'Autour is omitted alſo. The turn of the compoſition made it neceſſary. How could the name of Scaron have been joined with that of Lewis the Fourteenth? That name indeed was not ſcandalous in itſelf, but he had made it ſo; and no one knows better than this author, that the moſt illuſtrious name may be dignified by great talents, and debaſed by vices.

ever this ſtriking part of our hiſtory ſhould find an hiſtorian worthy to treat it.

Perhaps in the courſe of theſe memoirs I have entered into too many details; perhaps I have been too ardent in defending a character which in every view appeared to me beneficent and good; perhaps I have been too ſincere in ſome places, and in others have ſhewn that I was miſinformed; perhaps I may have diſpleaſed all my readers; but I dare affirm (for there is one whom I count as nothing) that I have ſought to offend none, and to be uſeful to the greater part; to the wiſe by facts, to the triflers by reflections: I have offered them what I believed to be truth, neither heightened by partiality, nor diſguiſed by fear. I have painted madame de Maintenon ſuch as I have ſeen her in the moſt faithful memoirs. Alas! what is it to me whether ſhe had virtues or faults?

F I N I S.

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